THE MAZDAYASNIAN PHILOSOPHY:

FIROZ J. DASTUR JAMASP ASA.

DUKE
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Treasure Room

Rise & Obl. of Paint.
B 6/-

THE
PHILOSOPHY OF THE MAZDAYASNIAN RELIGION UNDER THE SASSANIDS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

OF

L. C. CASARTELLI,

WITH PREFATORY REMARKS, NOTES, AND A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

FIROZ JAMASPJI DASTUR JAMASP ASA

Registered under Act XXV. of 1867.

Bombay:
JEHANGIR BEJANJI KARANI,
17 AND 18, PARSI BAZAAR.

1889.

All rights Reserved

BOMBAY:
PRINTED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.

2161/31
Subject
Sch. R.
T. R.
335P

TO

H. E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D.,

GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS EMINENT SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION IN THIS PRESIDENCY,

AND

IN TOKEN OF THE IMMENSE INTEREST WHICH HE INVARIABLY TAKES IN THE PROMOTION OF SCIENCE AND ARTS,

THIS TRANSLATION

IS

(BY PERMISSION)

MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

BOMBAY, APRIL 1889.

174054

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Translator's Prefatory Remarks ..... ix.
Opinion ..... xi.
Biographical Sketch ..... xiii.
Abbreviations ..... xv.
Introduction ..... i-viii

CHAPTER I.

The Divinity.

I. Diversity of Doctrines on the Divinity during the Sassanid Period 1
II. This Diversity is a Consequence of Dualism 3
III. The Zrvanic System, Destiny 5
IV. Zrvanism is a Philosophical System 12
V. The Relations between Zrvan and Aûharmazd 12
VI. Aûharmazd, His Names 14
VII. Titles and Attributes of Aûharmazd 21
VIII. God the Creator, His relations with the Creation 27
IX. Relations between God and Destiny 31
X. The Doctrine of Divine Wisdom 33
XI. The Doctrine of Vohûman, Son of the Creator 42

CHAPTER II.

Evil.

I. The Dualistic System of Mazdeism 50
II. Names, Atrributes and Qualities of the Evil Spirit 54
III. Aharman, the Creator of Evil 61
IV. The End of Aharman and of Evil 64

174054

CHAPTER III.

The Spirits.

PAGE

I. Distinction between the Material and the Spiritual World 69
II. Origin of the Good and Evil Spirits 70
III. The Good Spirits :—
(i) Vohûman 72
(ii) The other Ameshoçpands 74
(iii) The Yazds 76
(iv) The Primordial War of the Spirits 77
(v) The Principal Yazds :—
(*a*) Genii of the Last Things 79
(*b*) Genii of the Physical World, Abstract Genii, &c..... 81
(vi) The Fravahars..... 83
(vii) Worship of the Good Spirits..... 87
IV. The Evil Spirits :—
(i) The six principal Devs 88
(ii) The other Demons 90
(iii) Questions relating to the Demons 92

CHAPTER IV.

Cosmology.

I. Distinction between the Spiritual Firmament and the Material Sky 94
II. Firmament :—
(*a*) Signs of the Zodiac, Constellations 95
(*b*) Astronomical Systems 97
(*c*) The Sun and the Moon..... 98
(*d*) Planets ; the Evil Stars 99
III. The Material World :—
(*a*) Creation 100
(*b*) Primitive Qualities and Elements 102
(*c*) Cosmogony of the Dinkart 103
(*d*) Form of the World 106
IV. Material Sky—Meteorology 108
V. The Earth :—
(*a*) Mountains, Keshvars, Geology 110
(*b*) Water : its circulation. Seas. Rivers 113
(*c*) Fire and its different Species 116

PAGE

VI. Organic World :—
(*a*) Sex 117
(*b*) Vegetable Kingdom—Botanical Notions 118
Mystic Trees 121
(*c*) Animal Kingdom—Zoological Notions..... 124
Mythical Animals 127

CHAPTER V.

Man.

I. Anthropogeny—The First Man 129
II. Vegetable Origin of the Human Races..... 130
III. Earliest Genealogies..... 131
IV. The Constitution of Man—The Body—Physiological Notions 134
V. Psychological Notions 137
VI. Men and Demons..... 144

CHAPTER VI.

Ethics.

I. Bases of Ethics :—
(*a*) Intellectual Nature of Man..... 145
(*b*) Action of the Evil Spirit 146
(*c*) The Spiritual Combat 147
(*d*) Destiny 148
II. Classification of Virtues and Vices :—
(*a*) Virtues and Good Deeds :—
(i) General Lists..... 149
(ii) Special Virtues..... 151
(iii) Duties of the State of Life..... 153
(iv) Good Deeds peculiar to Mazdeism 156
(v) Khvêtûkdaç 156
(*b*) Sins and Evil Actions :—
(i) General Lists..... 160
(ii) Sins specially condemned 162
(iii) Legal Impurities—Philosophical Theory..... 163
(iv) Classification of Sins 166
III. Merit—Responsibility—Casuistry 167
IV. Contrition—Confession—Penance 169

PAGE

V. Religion—Duties of the Faithful with regard to it—
(*a*) The Good Law.—The only true Religion 171
(*b*) The Priesthood: its Importance 173
(*c*) Other Religions—Infidels—Apostates 174
VI. Sententious Morality of Mazdeism 175

CHAPTER VII.

Eschatology.

I. Fate of the Soul after Death—
(*a*) Before the individual Judgment 178
(*b*) The Cinvat Bridge and the Judgment of the Soul... 182
(*c*) The world beyond the grave —
(i) Heaven 185
(ii) Hell 190
(iii) Hamêçtagân 194
II. End of the World —
(*a*) Last Millennia 196
(*b*) Resurrection of the Dead 197
(*c*) Ἀποκατάστασις 199

TRANSLATOR'S PREFATORY REMARKS.

Pehlevi was, until recently, looked upon as a mere jargon by the *savants* of Europe, who neglected its study on account of its difficult and enigmatic reading. Of late, however, a few European and Parsi scholars, by their unsparing labour and indefatigable zeal, have aroused such an interest in the study of Pehlevi that the cultivation and correct exposition of this language attracts considerable attention at present, both in Europe and in America. Several texts and translations, grammars and lexicons, have been published, and much, if not very considerable, light has been thrown upon many obscure and knotty passages of its literature.

Dr. L. C. Casartelli has been a labourer in this field, and after having been a student for many years of the learned and distinguished Professor de Harlez of Louvain, has given to the public his celebrated and important essay, entitled *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, as the most comprehensive result of his study of the Iranian languages, and especially of Pehlevi. This treatise is mainly based upon the Pehlevi texts that have hitherto been published, and embodies the fruits of the learned scholar's untiring and persevering efforts towards elucidating, in a concise yet clear and thorough manner, the theological, cosmological, anthropological, moral, and eschatological ideas of the Mazdayasnian religion, as it existed in the Persian Empire under the rule of the Sassanides—the period when that religion attained its highest phase in philosophical completeness. It is an essay that will be welcomed by scholars as a valuable and erudite contribution to the exposition of philosophical questions mooted by the post-Avestaic exegesis; and an English translation of a treatise like this must be both useful and important to the Parsis, while it cannot fail to be of interest to the English-speaking public at large.

The Translator has added a few foot-notes tending to supplement or contradict the views of the author; quotations from well-known writers are given in some cases; the German passages quoted by the Author have been translated into English, and references to the Avesta texts are inserted wherever it is deemed necessary to do so. All these notes, for which the Translator alone is responsible, have been enclosed within square brackets, in order to distinguish them from the original notes of the Author.

At the suggestion of the Author, two indices have been appended, one of things, places, persons, &c., referred to in the work, the other of all Pehlevi, Avestaic, Sanskrit, and Persian words explained by the Author.

The translation has undergone a thorough and careful revision by the Author himself, who has in some places added to or altered the original context. For this and for other valuable suggestions, as also for expressing his impartial opinion on this translation, my sincere and warmest thanks are due to the Author.

I must avail myself of this opportunity to acknowledge my deep sense of gratitude to that eminent scholar and statesman, H. E. Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, for his kind and gracious permission to dedicate this translation to him. My thanks are also due to the Trustees of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Translation Fund for subscribing to a goodly number of copies of this work, and to the Parsi community generally for their kind support.

FIROZ JAMASPJI DASTUR JAMASP ASA.

Bombay, April 1889.

OPINION.

I have great pleasure in stating that I consider Firoz Jamaspji Dastur Jamasp Asa to have translated my treatise, *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, with conspicuous care and fidelity, and that his version is a thoroughly reliable rendering of the original. I am much indebted to the Translator for the great pains he has taken to secure this result.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

Louis Charles Casartelli, son of an Italian (Lombard) family settled in England, was born at Manchester on the 14th of November 1852, At the age of 15 he went to Ushaw College, near Durham, connected with the University of London, where he passed in 1870 his Preliminary Arts with Exhibition in Latin; in 1872 his B. A with scholarship in the classics and prize in the Scriptural examination; and in 1873 his M. A. with gold medal in the classics. In 1874 he joined the University of Louvain in Belgium, where he studied, for several sessions, under the famous Professor de Harlez, the Sanskrit, Avesta and Pehlevi languages. In 1876 he was ordained a (Catholic) priest at Salford, Manchester, and was appointed in 1877 Professor and Prefect of Studies in St. Bede's (Commercial) College in the same city. He again went in 1884 to the Louvain University, where in the month of July he passed the examinations in Sanskrit, Avesta, and Pehlevi. In the same year he published his celebrated dissertation on the Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids (*La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*) and obtained the degree of Doctor in Oriental Literature. In 1886 he reprinted from Le Muséon at Louvain his celebrated treatise on Mazdayasnian Medicine (*Traité de Médecine Mazdéenne*) in which he gives, after an introduction on the subject, an analysis of what is found in the Avesta on Medicine, followed by an analysis and a translation of the 157th chapter of the *Dinkart*, which is an old medical treatise, based and developed on the system of the Avesta; then follows an Appendix containing grammatical notes. The work presents a clear picture of the Iranian art of healing and curing in the Sassanian period. Besides this he has written many papers and articles on oriental and philological subjects for *le Muséon*, the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, and other periodicals. He is also connected with several learned societies; for instance, the German Oriental Society (1876), the Manchester Geographical Society (1885), in which he also holds the office of a Councillor, the Société Orientale of Louvain (1886), of which he is an Honorary Member, and the Royal Asiatic Society of London (1889).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEG.	for	Spiegel, *Vergleichende Grammatik der Alteranischen Sprachen.*
Arab.	„	Arabic.
Av.	„	Avesta.
AVN.	„	*Ardâ-i Virâf Nâmeh.*
BD.	„	*Bûn-Dehesh.*
BY.	„	*Bahman Yasht.*
Chald.	„	Chaldic.
Chap.	„	Chapter.
Dk.	„	*Dinkard.*
EA.	„	Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde.*
ed. or edit.	„	edition.
fol.	„	folio.
GAP.	„	Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens.*
GF.	„	*Gosht-i Fryâno.*
Kurd.	„	Kurdish.
Lat.	„	Latin.
lit.	„	literal or literally.
MK.	„	*Mainyo-i Khard.*
MS.	„	manuscript.
n.	„	foot-note.
NR.	„	Nakshe Rajab or Rustam.
OK.	„	Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum.*
Pehl.	„	Pehlevi.
Pers.	„	Persian.
P.T.	„	West, *Pahlavi Texts.*
RV.	„	*Rig Veda.*
Sass.	„	Sassanian.
Sirez.	„	*Sirozah.*
SlS.	„	*Shâyast lâ Shâyast.*
Skt. or Sans.	„	Sanskrit.
s. v.	„	sub voce.
Syr.	„	Syriac.

Trad. Lit. or TL.	for	Spiegel, *Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen.*
Ul.	„	*Ulemá-i Islám.*
v.	„	verse.
Vd. or Vend.	„	*Vendidad.*
Visp.	„	*Vispared.*
vol.	„	volume.
Wester.	„	Westergaard, *Zend Avesta.*
Yaç.	„	*Yaçna.*
Yt.	„	*Yasht.*
Zdm G.	„	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
Zor. Stud.	„	Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien.*
ZS.	„	*Zad-Sparam.*

INTRODUCTION.

THIS Essay is an epitome of the philosophical and religious doctrines of the Mazdayasnian or Zoroastrian religion, as it existed in the Persian Empire under the national dynasty of the Sassanides (from A. D. 226 to the conquest of Eran by the Arabs in 651).

The importance of this epoch is explained by the fact that the Sassanian kings were the adherents of the Mazdayasnian religion, and that they were the first who made it the State religion. It is especially the case that at this time the reconstitution of the Mazdayasnian religion with the introduction of new notions made it into a special system.

We are astonished to see the illustrious Eranist Mr. E. W. West, in a recent work, styling the religious writings of the Mazdayasnians, such as the Avesta and the Pehlevi treatises, "the last remnants of the faith professed by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord, the scattered fragments of the creed professed by Darius in his inscriptions."[1]

We believe that after the last decisive arguments adduced by Spiegel[2] and de Harlez[3] it will be no longer possible to make a mistake on this point. The Avestaic religion is not identical with that of the

[1] See *Pahlavi Texts*, part I., p. ix. (Oxford, 1880).

[2] See *Vergleichende Grammatik der altiranischen Sprachen*, pp. 6,7 (Leipzig, 1882).

[3] See *Introduction à l'étude de l'Avesta*, pp. ccxi-ccxii. (Paris, 1881).

Achæmenian kings, although in both religions the Supreme God is called Aûramazda. It was only with Ardeshir Pâpekân (A.D. 226) that the Avestaic or Zoroastrian religion ascended the throne of Persia.

The following table gives a short summary of what seems to us historically ascertained concerning the annals of the Mazdayasnian religion in their relation to the national history :—

Before Christ.	Dynasty.	Kings.	Records of Mazdeism.
700—559.	Medians.		Contact between the Medians and the Semitic peoples. Zarathushtra in Media (about 600?) [1] Propagation of his religion in Bactria. Commencement of the Avesta. [2]

[1] [The era of Zarathushtra is quite uncertain. The Greek and Roman writers assign him a very ancient date. Aristotle and Hermippos place him even before 6000 B. C. But Mr. K. R. Kâmâ, our well-known Orientalist, after making a careful examination of all the facts, fixes the date at 1300 B. C. See *Zartosht Nama*, chap. III.— Tr.]

[2] Dr. W. Geiger has made a last attempt to put the origin of the Avesta further back, but this attempt is not destined to succeed. [Dr. Geiger's opinion that "the Avesta must have been in existence in a pre-Achæmenian, most probably in a pre-Median epoch," is warmly supported by Dr. Karl F. Geldner, the most accomplished Avesta scholar of the present day, in his dissertation on the old Iranian languages and literature in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xviii., 9th ed., p. 653. Dr. Geiger bases his opinion upon the following arguments :—(i.)" Because the Avesta does not speak of any of the towns famous during the latter period with the exception of Ragha, the high antiquity of which is thereby established. (ii.) The Avesta does not mention any of the names of nations that were commonly known at a later period. Neither does it allude to the Persians, Parthians, nor Medes, but simply to the Arians. (iii.) The Avesta contains no historical statement concerning the battles between the Medes and the Babylonians, the rise of

Before Christ.	Dynasty.	Kings.	Records of Mazdeism.
559—331.	Achæmenians.	Cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I., Xerxes I., Artaxerxes II., Artaxerxes III. (between 600—400.)	Development of the Avesta.
331—250.	Seleucides.	Grecian kings.	Decay of Mazdeism under Alexander.
250 B. C. to 225 A. D.	Arsacides.	Parthian kings: religion doubtful.	Avesta translated into Pehlevi.
A. D. 226—651.	Sassanides.	Mazdayasnian kings.	Mazdeism becomes the State religion.
		226 Ardeshir I.	Heresy of Mâni (258).
		350 Shahpur II.	The Avesta texts collected, revised, and corrected under Aderbâd Mahrespand.
		438 Yazdegard II.	Edict of the minister Mihr Narseh (440). Writings of Eznig the Armenian.
		490 Kobâd.	Heresy of Mazdak (488). Formation of the Avesta alphabet (in the 6th century).

the Persians, the prosperity and downfall of the Persian Empire under the Achæmenian dynasty, the invasion of Alexander the Great, which agitated and reorganized the whole of the Orient, the states which rose on the ruins of the Empire of Alexander, and the dominion of the Arsacidæ." See Dârâb Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, English translation of Dr. Geiger's *Ostirânische Kultur*, vol. II., p. 111.—Tr.]

Before Christ.	Dynasty.	Kings.	Records of Mazdeism.
		531 Khosrau Anosherevan.	The golden age of the Pehlevi literature. Editing of the principal treatises. The Greek and Syriac civilisation flourishes in Persia. Writings of Paul the Persian.
		632 Yazdgard III.	Final suppression of Mazdeism by the Arabs.
		651 Arab Conquest.	

The reader sees in this table the precise limits to which I have restricted myself. I do not speak at all about the Mazdayasnian religion, such as is found exposed in the Avesta. I have endeavoured to answer this single question: *What were the philosophical and theological doctrines inculcated by Mazdeism, considered as the national and official religion under the Sassanides?*

To answer this I have consulted those of the Pehlevi treatises which seem to have a right to be reckoned among the writings of the Sassanide epoch, and I have arranged in a philosophical order the various precepts which are found therein. I have scarcely touched therein upon the questions of origin or of comparison with other systems.

Among the works used, the *Bûn-Dehesh*, the *Mainyo-i Khard*, the *Ardâ-i Vîrâf Nameh*, the *Bahman Yesht*, the *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast*, and the small history of *Gôsht-i Fryâno* are unanimously admitted by Eranists (students of the Eranian languages) as belonging to Sassanide literature.

It is not so with the *Dinkart*, to which is often assigned a more recent date. However, I have been led to the conviction that this opinion is erroneous. It is true that we can judge only from the portion of this work already published—the four volumes edited by Dastur Peshotun of Bombay (1874-1884), scarcely containing a fourth part of the whole text. I have been unable to avail myself of any MS. material. But to judge from the portion of *Dinkart* which has been published, it seems to me that this remarkable treatise is undoubtedly a genuine and characteristic production of the Sassanide epoch. I rely mainly upon:

(i) The continually repeated theories of the duties of the king, of his prerogatives, of his relations with the true religion, and the relations between the State and the priesthood, which reveal very evidently an epoch when Mazdeism was certainly the religion of the State.[1]

(ii) The continuance of the four political and social divisions of the people.[2]

(iii) The frequent polemics against the Jewish, Manichean, and Christian religions, *without any mention* of Mohammedanism.[3]

(iv) The pronounced hostility against Rûm or Arûm, *i.e.*, the Greek Empire,[4] which can only suit the Sassanide period.

---

[1] See vols. I., 46, 58; II., 92, 96; III., 124, 129, 133; IV. 164, &c.

[2] See I., 50; IV., 157.

[3] See I., 29; II., 80; IV., 166.

[4] See III., 134.

(v) The categorical assertion that "the religion of Eran is the Mazdayasnian Law" (*airâno dâto dîno Mâzdayasno*),[1] which would no longer be true after the Arab conquest.

What is more: certain Sassanide treatises, as the *Bûn-Dehesh*, contain many traditions of high antiquity, even often more ancient than those of the Avesta; but the *Dînkart* appears to be the production of the philosophical thought of its own epoch,[2] and therefore it gives us a more faithful idea of the systems peculiar to that time. Moreover, the more accentuated monotheism and the more elevated spirituality which distinguish it with the very explicit indications which we shall see further on betray a very prominent influence of Christian ideas upon its authors.[3]

If I have quoted at full length many passages, it is because I find myself face to face with the translation of Mr. Ratanshah Eruchshah Kohiyar, made from the Gujarati version of Dastur Peshotun; experience has

---

[1] See I., 28.

[2] [It is manifest from the *Dinkart* itself that several chapters of the book were based upon some original Avesta Nasks, which are now extinct, but which were extant at the time when the book was written, because the authors of it often say "*davan dîn petâk*, *i. e.*, in the revealed religion it is said."—Tr.]

[3] [The authors of the *Dinkart* seem to have followed and developed the theology of the Gâthâs, which inculcates strictly monotheistic notions. The modern researches of *savants*, both Parsi and European, have conclusively proved that the fundamental principle of the theology of the Gâthâs and some other portions of the Avesta is pure monotheism. It is quite unjust to say that the authors of the *Dinkart* were influenced by Christian ideas.—Tr.]

shown that this translation is incorrect to the highest degree,[1] so much so that I have been almost obliged in each case to retranslate and retranscribe the quoted passage.

Again, it is on account of the prescribed limits of this study that I have left aside everything that refers to more recent Mazdeism—as, for example, the *Saddar Bún-Dehesh*, the *Dâdistân-i-Dînik*, the Epistles of Mâhùshcihar, the Persian Rivâyets, the *Saddar*, &c., which are all posterior to the Mussalman conquest.

Louvain, 6th July 1884.

---

[1] If a proof be required, one has only to compare the version of *Dinkart* II., 80, on the *Khvetuk-das* by Peshotun with that given by Dr. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, vol. II. [The language of the *Dinkart* is very ambiguous and obscure, and many difficulties lie in the way of reading and translating such a difficult Pehlevi. Even many eminent scholars translate the one and the same passage in such a different way that it quite perplexes one to find out whether they are versions of one and the same passage or of two different passages. Therefore, taking the ambiguity and difficulty of the Pehlevi of the *Dinkart* into consideration, it may fairly be said that what Dastur Peshotun has done is satisfactory. Notwithstanding many discrepancies in his translation, it cannot be said to be incorrect to the highest degree.—Tr.]

OBSERVATIONS.

The quotations from the Pehlevi works (except the *Dinkart*) are made by chapters and verses according to West or Haug. Thus "B.D. xxx. 2," signifies "*Bûn-Dehesh*, chap. xxx. verse 2," according to West (Palavi Texts, vol. I.)

The quotations from the *Dinkart* are made by volumes, chapters, and verses of the edition of Dastur Peshotun, thus "D.K. IV. 157, 32," signifies "*Dinkart* vol. IV., chap. 157, verse 32," according to the edition of Peshotun.

CHAPTER I.

The Divinity.

I.—Diversity of Doctrines on the Divinity during the Sassanide period.

1. Paul of Dair-i Shar, a learned Persian, who flourished at the court of the greatest of the Sassanide kings, Khosrav Anosheravan (A. D. 531—578) gives us, in an impressive picture, the different theories on the nature and attributes of God, which were shared at the time among the minds of his fellow-countrymen.

"There are some," he says, "who believe in only one God; others claim that He is not the only God; some teach that He possesses contrary qualities; others say that He does not possess them; some admit that He is omnipotent; others deny that He has power over everything. Some believe that the world and everything contained therein have been created; others think that all the things are not created. And there are some who maintain that the world has been made *ex nihilo*; according to others (God) has drawn it out from an ὕλη (pre-existing matter)."[1]

2. One might suspect that in this passage, amidst some general remarks on philosophical theories, Paul is speaking about various doctrines scattered over the whole world, especially as he was a Christian, and had studied the heathen philosophies of Greece in the schools of Nisibis or of Jondishâpûr.[2] But it must be remembered that the writer is here addressing himself directly to king Khosrav, and mentioning to him details which must have been familiar to him, just as he cites elsewhere[3] in proof of multivocal words the

[1] Paulus Persa, *Logica*, fol. 56; Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. IV. Leyden, 1875 (translation, p. 8.)

[2] Land, ibid., *Scholia*, p. 100.

[3] Paulus Persa, *Logica*, fol. 58, v.

Persian names of the sun.[1] It is therefore very probable that the author is here describing the opinions which were current in his time in the bosom of the Eranian religion itself.[2] Moreover, it cannot be doubtful to those who are aware of the divergence of opinions which separated the numerous Eranian sects, that Paul is here enumerating faithfully the characteristic doctrines of the Eranian sects of the Sassanide period.

3. It is true that under the kings of this dynasty, Magism or Mazdeism[3] became the national religion in Persia. However, a just idea must be formed of what is meant by this word. Though all the followers of this religion boldly declared themselves to be the worshippers of the god Aûharmazd and disciples of His prophet Zartûsht, yet they

---

[1] *Âbtâbân*, *Cûrshid* and *Mîhîr*. Houtum-Schindler compares the word *Âbtâbân* with the Kurdish word *âχtâw* (Z. D. M. G. xxxviii. p. 48.)

[2] [It is also manifest from M. K., i., 17, that there were numerous sects, beliefs, and doctrines under the Sassanides.—Tr.]

[3] [It is the opinion of Westergaard, George Rawlinson, and other distinguished scholars and writers, that Magism was in origin completely distinct from Mazdeism or Zoroastrianism. It will not be out of place to quote here the opinion of Professor Westergaard from his Preface to the *Zendavesta*, p. 17. "The faith ascribed by Herodotus to the Persians is not the lore of Zoroaster, nor were the Magi in the time of Darius the priests of Ormazd. Their name, Magu, occurs only twice in all the extant Zend texts, and here in a general sense, while Darius opposes his creed to that of the Magi, whom he treated most unmercifully. Though Darius was the mightiest king of Persia, yet his memory, and that of his predecessors on the thrones of Persia and Media, has long since utterly vanished from the recollections of the people. It was supplanted by the foreign North-Iranian mythology, which terminates with Vishtaspa and his sons; and with these persons the later Persian tradition has connected the Achæmenian Artaxerxes, the Long-handed, as if he especially had contributed to the propagation and establishment in Western Irar of the Zoroastrian belief. But this latter would appear early to have undergone some modification, perhaps, even from the influence of Magism itself, and it may have been in this period that the Magi, turning to the faith of their sovereigns became the priests of Ormazd."—Tr.]

were far from being in complete accord on all the great dogmatic questions. They were rather divided into numerous sects, a list of which is given us by Muhammed-ash-Shahristâni, a Mussalman writer of much later date, and which is quoted by Spiegel in his *Antiquities*.[1] One may also doubt whether this great Eranist does not go a little too far when he distinguishes an "orthodox" religion from among the many sects which he enumerates.[2] Indeed we notice in the most venerated works of Mazdeism, such as the *Bûn-Dehesh*, the *Mainyo-i Khard*, *the Dinkart*, the *Ardâ-i Virâf Nameh*, the *Shâyest lâ-Shâyest*, and others which we shall have to quote, some very different tendencies which clearly separate them into several schools or sects. Except, perhaps, the systems of Mâni and Mazdak, which were rather new religions inoculated upon Mazdeism, all these sects are grouped as derived from the system of Magism, and all were tolerated even in the midst of one and the same national faith. This point of view is justified by the remarkable edict of the minister Mihr Narseh, published with the assent of the king Yezdegerd II. and preserved by the Armenian historians, Eliseus and Lazarus of Pharp.[3] It shows what latitude there was in the Mazdayasnian religion for theories on the nature of God.

II.—This Diversity is a Consequence of Dualism.

4. Indeed, the reader will have remarked that the different systems described by Paul the Persian are finally brought back to the question of the nature of the Supreme Being and of His relations with the creation. Is not this a necessary consequence of dualism itself? This characteristic dogma of the Eranian religions teaches the existence of an Evil Principle, which is distinct from, and independent of, the Good Principle, *i.e.*, God, as we generally say. Now, this idea of the co-existence of the two eternal principles, distinct from each

[1] E. A. vol. II., pp. 175—235.

[2] E. A. vol. II., p. 175.

[3] Justi, G. A. P., pp. 197-198; Spiegel, E. A. II., p. 183, who calls it "to some extent an official document."

other, is more repugnant to the human mind than polytheism itself.[1] Sooner or later the mind will push further

[1] [It is a well-known fact and it is proved by many distinguished *savants*, both European and Zoroastrian, that the leading feature of the theology of the original or Zoroastrian Mazdeism, as contained in the Avesta and especially in the Gâthâs, was strictly based on monotheism, and that its speculative philosophy was based on Dualism. According to it Ahuramazda was the only Supreme Being, the First Creative Cause, who had no equal or rival. He employed two principles, one good, holy, just and always creating, and one evil, wicked, base and always destroying, to keep the universe in motion. These two primæval causes, though contrary, were united, and each was indispensable to the other in producing the material as well as the spiritual world. But in course of time the good, creating principle was wrongly identified with Ahuramazda himself and both began to be considered as one and the same being, and consequently the evil, destroying principle became an antagonist and rival of Ahuramazda. This wrong notion seems to have taken root even in the time of the Avesta itself, as traces of it are found in the first Fargard of the Vandidad and in some stray passages of the Avesta. The later Pehlevi and Persian writers have strictly followed and developed that wrong notion. But the original Dualism, *i.e.* the Dualism of the two contrary principles employed by Ahuramazda seems to be conformable with the laws of modern science, and is even admired by eminent students of philosophy and science. One of them says: "The existence of evil in the world is as palpable a fact as the existence of good. There are many things which to our human perceptions appear to be base, cruel, foul and ugly, just as clearly as other things appear to be noble, merciful, pure and beautiful. Whence come they? If the existence of good proves a good Creator, how can we escape the inference that the existence of evil proves an evil one? . . It is a fact that polarity is the law of existence. Why we know not, any more than we know the real essence and origin of the atoms and energies which are our other ultimate facts. But we accept atoms and energies, and accept the law of gravity and other laws; why not accept also the law of polarity, and admit that it is part of the 'original impress': one of the fundamental conditions under which the evolution of Creation from its ultimate elements is necessitated to proceed. This the human mind can understand; beyond it is the great unknown or unknowable, in presence of which we can only feel emotions of reverence and of awe, and 'faintly trust the larger hope' that duality may somehow ultimately be merged in unity, evil in good, and 'every winter turn to spring.' (See Samuel Laing, *A Modern Zoroastrian*, pp. 170-172).—Tr.]

its theories in order to repose in an original unity of principles. If this is generally true, how much more so for the Eranian mind,—a mind which is extremely and passionately fond of systematisation? The Turanian Magi, from whom the Eranians very probably adopted their original dualism,[1] did not feel this logical necessity; upon the Eranians this necessity very soon obtruded itself.

III.—*The Zervanic System, Destiny.*

5. Different schools had recourse to different means of avoiding the difficulty. Some found the solution in a pre-existing, indifferent and immutable Being, from whom they derived both the Good and the Evil principles; a source of Being rather than a personal Being—an eternal, divine source, a primæval deity (Urgottheit) as Spiegel calls it.[2] This is the *Zrvan Akarana*, the Unlimited Time, which is confounded with Destiny: it is he who has begotten Aûharmazd as well as Aharman. In this system, therefore, there is not strictly one God.[3]

Other philosophers maintain that this *Primæval Principle* is Aûharmazd himself, and even derive from him the Evil Spirit, or attribute to him the two spirits, the one good, the other evil. In this hypothesis God possesses "contrary qualities," according to the expression of Paul.[4]

We seem to find in the *Dinkart* a real monotheism developed perhaps under Christian or Jewish influences;[5] on the contrary in the *Mainyo-i Khard* Destiny and Eternity play a

---

[1] De Harlez, *Origines du Zoroastrisme*, part II.; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 145, *seqq.*

[2] E. A. II., page 177.

[3] [*Zarvâna Akarna* is nothing but 'the time without bounds' or 'eternity' in the Avesta, where it is never mentioned as creator of anything, neither it is praised as an Yazata. Cf. § 11 of this book.—Tr.]

[4] [This doctrine seems to be identical with that of the Gâthâs, for which see p. 4, n. (1).—Tr.]

[5] [See the translator's note (3) on p. vi.]

very important part. Finally in the *Ulemâ-i Islâm*, a small treatise of a later date, it is said that some people consider Aharman as a reprobate angel فرشتہ متضرب [1], but we do not know whether this altogether Christian idea can be traced back to the Sassanide times.

6. The idea of the *Zrvan Akarana* is treated at full length by Spiegel in the second volume of his Antiquities. Generally, it is not easy to clearly distinguish this Divinity of Time from Destiny. If we consult the Armenian Vartabed Eznig, a writer contemporary with the Sassanides in the 5th century, we shall find the following definition of the being of *Zervan* in his description of the Mazdayasnian religion as flourishing in his time.[2]

"When there was as yet nothing, say the Magi, neither heaven nor earth, there existed a certain *Zervan*, whose name, when translated, signifies fortune or glory." [3]

Here, then, *Zrvan* and *Bakht* seem to be identical, as Theodore of Mopsuesta affirms also.[4] In Persian *Zamân* (equivalent to *Zrvan*) is used to signify time in general, and *Zamânah* designates fate, destiny, as in the following verse of the *Shâhnâmeh*:

Zamânah na dâd-ash Zamâni dirang, "destiny did not grant him a long time (life)."[5]

7. The *Mainyo-i Khard*, as we have already shown, develops chiefly the doctrine of Eternity and Destiny. Sometimes this book seems to separate these two beings. We give here an example:—"The affairs of the world altogether proceed through Destiny (بخت) *breh*[6] and time,

[1] U. I. p. 5, Vullers' translation, p. 52.

[2] See the more recent and more faithful translation of M. Gatteyrias, *L'Arménie et les Arméniens* (Paris, 1880), p. 40 (cf. p. 10). See also Spiegel, E. A. II., pp. 182, 183.

[3] Spiegel, *Geschick* (*bakht*, destiny) or *Glanz* (*p'ark*, lustre).

[4] *Photios Biblioth.*, p. 63.

[5] Quoted by Pizzi in his *Manuale della lingua Persiana*, s. v. p. 388. [The exact translation would be "destiny did not grant him a moment's respite."—Tr.]

[6] Cf. Pehlevi and Persian *bihar* = fate, portion.

(*Zamân*) and through the supreme decree of the self-existent Eternity, the king and lord of long time (*vazar i brin raved i qad-hast zuruân i pâdishâh u derang qadâe*)."[1] In another chapter it is said of unlimited time that—"He is imperishable and immortal, he is without grief, without hunger, without thirst and without affliction, living eternally, everlasting, nobody being able to stop him and to remove his control from his affairs."[2] By these last words of the passage quoted above, Time is again brought into contact with Destiny. Elsewhere it is said of Destiny:—"Destiny is what has been ordained from the commencement;"[3] and again, "Destiny is that which is supreme over every one and everything."[4]

8. Spiegel entirely distinguishes the *Zamân derang qadâe* from *Zrvan akarana*, of which mention has been made above, and which is evidently the *Zrvan daregho qadhâta* of the Avesta.[5] He considers it as a subdivision of *Zrvan* or rather as a part of it, carved out by Aûharmazd for his own use;[6] and it is from it that he creates the God of Destiny. We doubt whether this idea can be reconciled with the fact acknowledged by Spiegel himself, that this *Zamân derang qadâe* is the created time, the time of the existence of the world. But one is tempted to believe that the *Zrvan akarana* itself was considered by certain sects not only as the eternal source of all Being, including Aûharmazd,[7] but also as a vast chaos, an infinite pre-existing matter, the ὕλη of Paul the Persian, from which Aûharmazd formed all his creatures.

9. In the first volune of his *Pahlavi Texts*,[8] West energetically defends the Avestaic religion from having admitted

---

[1] M. K. xxvii. 10.
[2] M. K. viii. 9.
[3] M. K. xxvii. 11.
[4] M. K. xlvii. 7.
[5] Nyâish I., 8; Sirozah I., 21.
[6] E. A. II., 11.
[7] [See the translator's note (3) on p. 5].
[8] *Sacred Books of the East*, P. T., I., p. lxx.

the belief of an infinite time. His argument is chiefly based upon a passage of *Zâd-Sparam*, translated by himself, where it is stated that *Zôrvân* was a creature of Aûharmazd, and he accuses the Greek and Armenian writers of being incorrect in their assertions. *Zâd-Sparam* says, in fact:—"Aûharmazd has produced the creature *Zôrvân* to aid the celestial sphere; and Zôrvân is unrestricted, so that he made the creatures of Aûharmazd to move."[1] Now West has proved that these *extracts*, though written about the year 881, are based upon documents, which can certainly be attributed to the Sassanide period.[2] It must be added that in this very book Zôrvân is mentioned as Destiny. It is said that it was by the decree of appointing Zôrvân that Gâyômard had only 30 years of certain life.[3]

We willingly admit that we have here the doctrine of a Mazdayasnian school of the Sassanide time, even if we will grant what Spiegel calls "the orthodox faith"; still it seems impossible for us to reject the very evident testimony of the contemporary though foreign writers, the testimony of the edict of the minister of Yazdegerd II. and that of a book like the *Ulemâ-i Islâm*, which, though bearing the date, like *Zâd-Sparam*, of the Mussalman period, must also represent like it some very old traditions. It appears that an important sect called the Zervanists really existed,[4] and the *Ulemâ-i Islam* must have been written by a partisan of that school.[5] We do not know in what century this doctrine of the eternal

[1] Z. S., i. 24.

[2] P. T., I., p. xlvii.

[3] Z. S., iv. 5.

[4] Spiegel, E. A., II., 176-187.

[5] Ibid, p. 178. [The Zervanic, Kayomarthian and other such beliefs and sects were heretical and diametrically opposed to the received doctrines of Mazdeism, just like those of Mazdak and Mâni. From the writings of Shahristani, a celebrated Mahomedan writer, we learn that the Mazdayasnians were split into several sects, which very likely arose at the time of the Sassanians, such as the Mazdakyas, Kayomarthias and Zervanists, whose doctrines being altogether strange to the ancient books must have been derived from other creeds. (Cf. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred*

Zrvan was formed, and whether it was contemporaneous with the beliefs of the Avesta or was formed only in the Sassanide times. But we are tempted to believe, even by the nature of things, that it could not be much posterior to the Mazdayasnian Dualism.[1] Was it perhaps borrowed from Babylonia at a very ancient date?

10. That the idea of this "primæval" principle (Urprincip) may have been mixed up with that of Destiny must not much astonish us. Destiny plays a prominent part in all the Oriental religions,—all tainted with more or less fatalism, and its effect is to disturb the idea of Divinity everywhere. We have seen this belief in Destiny very strongly developed in the *Maionyo-i Khard*, certainly a Sassanide work and attested by contemporary writers.[2] The idea of an inevitable *fatum*,[3] a blind power, which is even above the will of the gods, is not reconcilable with the idea of a true Divine and Supreme Being, especially like that of the Mazdayasnian religion. But we must not expect to find too much consistency in these beliefs; because, in that case, we should equally have to exclude Dualism itself. These fatalist ideas are preserved and propagated chiefly in the minds of the people. Nor can we be surprised to find this power, vague, mysterious and shapeless, confounded among the Mazdayasnian sects with that other being, equally intangible and misty, viz., *Zrvan*. The transition from the one to the other is quite natural.

Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis, p 15). Therefore no reliance should be placed upon them, and they should not be reckoned as Mazdayasnian sects and beliefs.—Tr.]

(1) [The doctrine of *Zrvan* seems to have been formed only in the Sassanide times, because no mention of it is found in the Greek and Roman authors who flourished before the Sassanides. We find some testimony of it only in the Greek and Roman authors contemporaneous with them, and also in the Armenian and Mahomedan writers of a later time.—Tr.]

[2] Naturally it was still more developed after the contact with Islamism. Cf. De Harlez, *Introduction à l'Avesta*, p. lxxxvii.

[3] M. K. xxiii.

11. There is another point of view according to which *Zrvan*, the infinite time, is neither the source nor the creature of Aûharmazd, but rather a co-eternal quality, an essential attribute of this God. Such is the point of view of the Avesta. It also appears in the Sassanide writings. According to the version of Spiegel, it is said in the *Bûn-Dehesh* that Aûharmazd "is endowed with boundless time" (*damân-i-akanârak-homand*).[1] West, however, does not approve of this translation. Now, this term is explained by the fact that Aûharmazd himself, his abode, his law, and his time (*damân*, *i.e.* the duration of his existence) have been and are and ever shall be. (*Yehevûnt va aît va hamâk yehevûnît.*) The *Bûn-Dehesh* therefore conceives the space occupied by God, the duration of His existence and His eternal Law (His Will) as divine attributes pretty nearly in the Christian sense.

12. As regards space, which is referred to here, it would appear, if Spiegal is to be trusted,[2] that this conception also as much as that of Time was one of the transcendant beings[3] considered by the Eranians as divine, eternal, and anterior to Aûharmazd or at least co-existing with him. This being is personified in the Avesta under the name of *Thwâsha*, *i.e.*, "infinite space," very distinct from the *Âsmân* or created heaven.[4] It is invoked with boundless time and with the

[1] B. D., i., 3. West translates the phrase: "independent of boundless time," which is not reconcilable with any of the Maydazasnian theories. Nevertheless, he adds that the construction is very obscure and leads us to believe that there are some omissions in the text. We do not see any obscurity. The sense is explained by the words that follow. On the etymology of the word *damân=Zamân* and of *Zrvan*, etc., see de Harlez, *Manuel de l'Avesta*, p. 304, and Spiegel, E. A., II., 5, n.

[2] E. A., II, 13-17.

[3] Ibid., p. 4. Die Grundbedingungen, welche für den Bestand eines jeden Dingen nöthig sind heissen Zeit und Raum und diese werden als gottliche und persönliche Wesen aufgefasst. ["The primary conditions, which are necessary for the duration of any one being, are called Time and Space; and these are understood as divine and personal beings."]

[4] [Ervad Kawasji Edulji Kanga in his *Glossary of Vandidad*, translates the term *thwâsha* by "the void between heaven and earth,—atmosphere, air."—Tr.]

same qualificative of *qadhâta*.[1] It seems that some have conceived it not only as the vague and immense space, but also as the "firmament" to which are attached the 12 signs of the Zodiac. Therefore, it is nothing but the Pehlevi *spîhr*, the modern Persian *sipihr*, the celestial sphere.

13. But it is clearly asserted in the *Bûn-Dehesh* that this celestial sphere was created by Aûharmazd, that it was the first of his creations,[2] and that he assigned to it the signs of the Zodiac.[3] Spiegel admits this interpretation, but doubts whether the Eranians always regarded the space as a creature. Relying upon the assertions of Herodotus and Damasius, he believes that this infinite Space was in former times a primordial divinity along with Time.[4] The solution of this point however does not fall within the limits of our Essay. What is undeniable is that in the Sassanian philosophy this celestial sphere was the creature of Aûharmazd; we shall therefore have to refer to this subject again whilst speaking about the Cosmogony. However, we have to remark that the idea of Destiny was as closely attached to this Being as to that of the Infinite Time. The Avestaic name *thwâsha* seems even to have been formed from a root *twakhsh*, which is no other than the τυχ of the Destiny of the Greeks Τυχή.[5] The Pehlevi name *Spîhr* is even used to signify Destiny, as in the *Mainyo-i Khard*.[6] This accounts for the fact that it is called in the same work "the strongest being."[7] The Persian word *Sipihr* has been employed in the same sense of Destiny.[8]

---

[1] Nyaish I., 8; Siroz., I., 21; Vd. xix. 44, 55 (Wester., 13, 16.)

[2] [According to the Avesta (Yas. xix. 8) the Ameshaspentas were the first of the creations of Ahuramazda. They were followed by the *Ahuna vairya*, the firmament, water, earth, animals and man in succession.—Tr.]

[3] B. D., ii., 2.

[4] E. A., II., 15. However, Herodotus is neither describing the Avestaic nor the Mazdayasnian religion, but the naturalist religion of the Persian people of his time. For this very important distinction, see de Harlez, *Introduction*, pp. xiv—xvi, ccxi—ccxii.

[5] Spiegel, E. A., II., 13.

[6] M. K., ii., 28.

[7] Ibid., xxviii., 10.

[8] See the *Shâhnâmeh*. Spiegel, E. A., II., 15.

IV.—Zrvanism is a philosophical system.

14. So far we have spoken about the primordial divine beings, the transcendent beings if I may say so, the ideas of which are rather the result of philosophical speculations proceeding from the dualistic system. These theories were probably developed in the Eranian mind from a very early time. Among certain sects they were freely and clearly expressed, and co-ordinated in the minds of others these beings floated in a very vague manner in the midst of conceptions about the divine nature. Finally there were other schools which rejected them and formally attacked them. But nowhere were these beings, this Infinite Time (and perhaps this Infinite Space), properly called Gods by the Eranians.[1] Undoubtedly they formed to themselves a primordial *Zrvan* in order to get rid of the embarrassment of the speculative theories, but this *Zrvan* is everywhere a pale and doubtful figure which serves only to introduce the true Eranian God, Aûharmazd, about whom we have now to speak.

V.—The relations between Zrvan and Aûharmazd.

15. But first of all some words must be said about the transition imagined by certain schools from the primary being *Zrvan* to the God Aûharmazd himself.

If we turn to the celebrated edict of the minister of Yazdegerd II., this is what we read in this document of a Sassanian king, according to the Armenian historians[2]:—

"Before the heaven and the earth existed *Zrovan*, the great god, sacrificed for 1000 years and said:—'If perhaps a son of the name of Ormizd were born to me, he would create heaven and earth.' Now *Zrovan* conceived two beings in his womb—the one because he sacrificed, the other because he said perhaps."

[1] [Even in the Avesta *thwâsha* and *Zarvâna* are nowhere praised with the appellation of Yazata.—Tr.]

[2] Justi, G. A. P., p. 197.

16. The narration of Eznig in his description of the Mazdayasnian religion is almost identical; only it is a little more lengthy than in the edict according to Eliseus and Lazarus of Pharp:—

"During 1000 years (Zervan) offered sacrifice saying to himself that 'perchance a son would be born to him who would create the heaven and the earth and everything that they contain.' After a thousand years of sacrifice, he commenced to turn over his thought in his mind saying:—'Of what use is the sacrifice that I offer? will my son Ormizt come? or will my efforts be useless?' Whilst he thought thus, Ormizt and Ahrmen were originated in the bowels of Zervan; Ormizt on account of Zervan's offering the sacrifice and Arhmen on account of his being doubtful."[1]

17. Such is therefore the origin of the two spirits: they were really begotten by *Zrvan*. That is a doctrine indisputably adopted in the Mazdayasnian schools under the Sassanides. Spiegel finds another proof of it in a contemporary Greek author already mentioned—Theodore of Mopsuestia.[2] If we take into consideration the importance of the document of Mihr Narseh, addressed to the Armenians and commencing with these solemn words: "You must know that every one of those who live beneath the sky and do not believe in the *Mazdayasnian religion* is deaf and blind and deceived by the *Divs* of Hâraman"[3]; if we add that all the contemporary foreign writers have represented this Zervanist system as the true dogma of the national religion of the Sassanians and that this dogma gives proof of its vitality long after the downfall of the national kings in works, such as the *Ulemâ-i Islâm*, it must be acknowledged that these Zervanists were anything but a small peculiar sect, and that they probably

---

[1] See the translation of M. Gatteyrias, *L'Arménie et les Arméniens*, p. 40.

[2] *Photios Biblioth.*, p. 63. E. A., II., 184.

[3] Justi, G. A. P., p. 197.

formed the most considerable part of the Mazdayasnians for a certain number of centuries.[1]

The great religious works of the Sassanian epoch that we now possess however appear much more orthodox and monotheistic in their doctrine, as we shall see when discussing the existence and characteristics of the great God, Aûharmazd.

VI.—Aûharmazd, His Names.

18. If we wish to know how the Persians under the Sassanides called their national God, we have an infallible means of succeeding in our investigation. It is sufficient to consult the Pehlevi inscriptions on the monuments or on coins. The form which is found engraved in the so-called "Sassanian characters" is *Aûharmazdi*. Now referring to the written Pehlevi literature we find by the side of the rare form *Hórmazd* ( ), which resembles the modern name

---

[1] [See Haug, *Essays, &c.*, 2nd ed., pp. 309—310. "That Dualism was actually the doctrine of the Zendiks, we best learn from the commencement of the Bûn-Dehesh, which book purports to expound the lore of this party. The Magi seem still to have clung to the prophet's doctrine of the unity of the Supreme Being. But to refute the heretical opinions of the Zendiks, which were founded on interpretations of passages from the sacred texts, a new and fresh proof of the unity of the Supreme Being was required. This was found in the term *Zarvan akarana*, 'boundless time,' which we meet with occasionally in the Zend-Avesta. The chief passage, no doubt, was Vend. xix. 9; but the interpretation for proving that *Zarvan akarana* means the Supreme Being, out of whom Aûharmazda and Angrômainyush are said to have sprung, rests on a grammatical misunderstanding, as we have seen above (p. 24). This interpretation, however, must be very old; for all the present Dasturs believe in it as an incontrovertible fact. That this doctrine of *Zarvan akarana* was commonly believed in Persia, during the times of the Sassanians, may be distinctly seen from the reports quoted above (pp. 12-14). The true meaning of the expression, that 'the beneficent Spirit made (them) in boundless time,' is that God (Ahûramazda) is from eternity, self-existing, neither born nor created. Only an eternal being can be independent of the bounds of time to which all mortals are subjects." Cf. also K. E. Kanga, *Translation of Extracts from the Zend-Avesta of Anquetil DuPerron*, preface, p. v.—Tr.)

used by the Parsis, another form which is more difficult—it is the almost universal name 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬨. For this antique form there is the traditional reading *Anhômâ*, which is considered as a Huzvâresh or Semitic word.

19. Here we have to encounter many difficulties. Because (i) we have already seen according to the unsuspected testimony of the Sassanian alphabet that at that period they certainly said "*Aûharmazdi*," we ought to meet again with this same form in some literary document of the epoch. Now the reading of the form 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬎 cannot be doubtful; therefore 𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬨 must represent the form of the inscriptions.

This is the reason why the modern Eranists—Haug, West, de Harlez, etc., read this form *Aûharmazd,* and in this they are followed by many Parsi *savants* of our time; that is to say, they give to the second 𐬌 the very common value of 𐬎 and they see in the last character 𐬨 the value of 𐬙, *i.e.*, of *zd* or *dd*.[1] We can allege in favour of this reading the fact that even in the Sassanian inscriptions the second and the fourth characters have the same ambiguous form 2, which like the Pehlevi 𐭭 can be read *r* as well as *n*.

20. In support of this opinion other proper nouns are cited, such as 𐬀𐬰𐬀𐬌 which represents *yazâan* of the inscriptions, though the traditional reading is יְהָאדְנָן (*yihân*);[2] 𐬀𐬰 or *yazd*, traditionally יָאת (*yât*); and 𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬙𐬀𐬉𐬙 as the name of the king Yazdegard (Sass. *yazdakarti*). In all these cases the reading of 𐬨 as *zd* re-establishes the harmony between the literary and monumental forms.[4]

---

[1] Cf. Haug, *the Book of Ardâ Viraf*, Introductory Essays, p. 1.

[2] Spiegel, T. L. P., p. 439. Destur Peshotun compares it with the Semitic "יָתּ or יהוה"! See his edition of the *Dinkart*, vol. I., p. 13.

[4] Haug, A. V. N., *Introductory Essays*.

21. (ii) On the other hand, it is observed with great justice that *Anhômâ* (𐬀𐬦𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬀) is the traditional form, established by some generations of the Parsi doctors (Desturs); and that whatever might be said of other terms, it would be quite unprecedented that the true pronunciation of the most sacred and the most important name, not to say the most in use in the whole Eranian religion and literature, should have been forgotten. However we might see therein nothing but an idèogram or a mystical term, perhaps in origin Semitic. Thus it is that Spiegel simply believes to have found in it the name אלוהים[1]; but this interpretation does not fit in the Pehlevi characters. He adds:—"ich glaube...man hat wohl diese fremde Form desswegen vorgezogen, weil es in jener Periode (wie bei den Rabbinen) für unpassend galt, den Namen Gottes selbst (*i. e.* 𐬀𐬦𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬀). auszusprechen."[2] These last words appear at the first sight to supply the key to the difficulty. It may be said that because the people did not dare to pronounce the sacred name they forgot the exact form or rather substituted a mystical and altered one in its place. Is it not the same case with that of the Hebrew word יהוה and its traditional pronunciation *Jehovah?* But a little consideration will render this theory at least impossible, as there is absolutely no trace in Eranian theology of any such prohibition to pronounce the Divine Name as existed among the Jews.

22. It is true that the Sassanian form *Aûharmazdî* suggests another objection to us on account of the final *î*, which insinuates some contractions in the words mentioned above; thus we might be tempted to read *Aûharmâ* for *Aûharmazdî*, just as *Yâkart* for *Yazdakartî*, *Yâan* for *Yazdân*, etc.[3] But

[1] T. L. P., p. 361. Cf. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, p. 197.

[2] ["I think...that this strange form was probably preferred because it was considered improper at that period (as by the Rabbis) to pronounce the name itself of God (*i.e.* 𐬀𐬦𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬀)."—Tr.]

[3] Objection may be taken on account of the difference of quantity of the *a*; however, it must not be forgotten that 𐬨𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬀 *mâzdayasna* = Sass. *mazdayasna*. See Haug, A. V. N., *Introductory Essays*, p. xxviii.

this difficulty has little weight when we recollect that the final *î* is added without any etymological value to the Sassanian words with almost as much facility as the Pehlevi *ô*.[1] In any case the final *î* cannot be explained as a representative of the original *a* of the ancient Avestaic form *Ahura-Mazda* and the Achæmenian form *Auramazda*.

We may therefore assume without any difficulty that the national God was called *Aûharmazd* in Sassanian times, although this name is engraved on the coins and inscriptions with a final *î*, which is altogether useless.

(§ 2)

23. The other divine name which is used in the Avesta, viz., *Spenta Mainyus*, is found in Pehlevi under the form *Spenâk Minôi*. The history of this term is very curious. The identification of the name *Spenta Mainyus* with that of *Ahura Mazda* in the Avestaic religion[2] is the effect, as we know, of an amalgamation of two systems and of the names of two divinities, the former the truly one God, the latter the God of Dualism, the twin of the Evil Spirit.[3] Indeed the traces of this original difference are not obliterated in the Avesta. But in the religious philosophy of the Sassanides all this is long forgotten and we meet with another phase of the evolution of this divine name.

---

[1] Though the usage is not quite parallel, cf. Haug, A. V. N., p. xxix.

[2] [In the Avesta *Spenta Mainyus* is identified with *Ahuramazda* only in the first Fargard of the Vendidad and in some stray passages, but he is mostly mentioned as a being quite different from *Ahuramazda* and as the creative agency of God. See Yas. xxx., 3-5; xlv., 2; xix., 9; xlvii., 4; xiii., 4: x., 16; and lvii., 2. Vend. xix., 9. Yasht xiii., 13; xv., 3, 43, 44; and xix., 44, 46. Moreover, *Ahuramazda* is always mentioned with the attributes in the superlative degree. He is called *Mainyu Spenishta* or *Mainyus Spentotemô*, but never *Spento Mainyu*.—Tr.]

[3] See de Harlez, *Introduction à l'Avesta*, p. lxxxv.

The name *Spenâk Minôi* is generally used as a synonym of Aûharmazd. Thus in the *Dinkart* it is expressly said that "the adorable name which has been, which is and which shall be is the divine name of *Spenâk Minôi*;" then it is added that "His unique peculiar name is also *Aûharmazd.*"[1] But we find also such expressions as "the *Spenak Minôi* of Aûharmazd," as if the title of *Spenak Minôi* was an attribute or a part of the being of Aûharmazd. Here one is tempted to suspect a Semitic and even a Christian influence, such as we shall often notice later on, because these terms remind us in a striking manner of the רוח אלהים of the Old and πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον of the New Testament.[2] Indeed we have "*Spenâk Minôi dâtar Aûharmazd*,"[3] literally 'the Holy Spirit of the creator Aûharmazd.' We would therefore say that as the good mind—the good conscience of man—was personified as Vohûman, in the same manner *Çpenâk Minôi* was looked upon as the mind—the soul, if I may say so,—of God.[4] We read also that the intelligence of Aûharmazd

[1] D. K., II., 81, 3.

[2] In the same manner the Mânicheans had also a "Holy Spirit." Spiegel, E. A., II., p. 226.

[The idea of the "Holy Spirit" (*Spenâk Minôi*) is found in the Gâthâs as well as in other parts of the Avesta, and it has been noted before that *Spenâk Minôi* is the creative power of *Mainyu Spenishta* (God). It is therefore evident that the writer of the *Dinkart* was not obliged to borrow his ideas from the Semitic or Christian religion.]

[3] Dk., IV., 138, 2. Peshotun has badly translated this phrase, (see p. 194); one would believe that *Spenâk Minôi* is a creature quite distinct from Auharmazd. We shall return to this point.

[4] ["The one, who produced the 'reality,' is called '*Vohu-manô*, the good mind,' the other, through whom the 'non-reality' originated, bears the name '*Akemmanô*, the evil mind.' All good, true and perfect things, which fall under the category of 'reality,' are the productions of the 'good mind.' While all that is bad and delusive belongs to the sphere of 'non-reality,' and is traced to the 'evil mind.' They are the two moving causes in the universe, united from the beginning, and therefore called 'twins.' They are present everywhere; in Ahuramazda as well as in men. These two primæval principles, if supposed to be united in Ahuramazda himself, are not called *Vohumanô* and *Akemmanô*, but *Çpento mainyush*, 'the beneficent spirit,' and *Angro mainyush*, 'the hurtful spirit.'" Haug, *Essays*, &c., 2nd ed., p. 303-304.—Tr.]

was revealed to His own "Holy Spirit" before the creation (*ghanca val benafshman Çpênâk Minoi pitâk yehevûntô*).[1]

The Sassanian speculation does not seem to have gone further. The modern Parsis have however much further developed this idea of the *Çpenâk Minôi*. According to them Hormazd has two principles, the one good (the *Çpenâmino*) and the other evil (the *ghanâmino*, i.e. *Ganâk Minôi*).[2] But then, this is only the logical consequence of their system and of their tendency towards a more real monotheism. Even this belief was perhaps old among certain sects.[3]

(§ 3)

24. A divine name which presents more difficulty is that of *Yazdân* which has become the well known Persian word يزدان. The history of this name is not without interest.

In the terminology of the Avesta the word *Yazata*[4] signifies like the Sanskrit *Yajata* "what is worthy of worship, adorable, venerable;" and is applied to Ahura himself as well as to the Amesha Spentas and other inferior angels. The *Yazatas* are often the angels inferior to the *Amesha Çpentas*. Then it is employed in the singular for only one angel: Thus in Yaz. xvii. 2 (Wester.,1) Ahura-Mazda is called *mazishta yazata*, the supreme *Yazata*. In Pehlevi books the *yazatas* or *yazds* are again the angels, the good spirits sometimes even distinguished from the *Ameshâspands*[5] as in the Avesta; Aûharmazd is also qualified by this title. Once in the *Dinkart* he seems to be called "one of the *Yazds*," if we can accept the translation of Destur Peshotun in the phrase: *az yazdâno aîvak khûtai anshûtâ* "one of the *yazds* is the

[1] Dk., I., 40, 2.

[2] Cf. Peshotun, Dk., I., p. 18, n.

[3] See Yas. xix., 21 (Wester., 9) and cf. West, P. T., II., p 14. But de Harlez translates the text (*frâ mê spanyaô manivâo vavaca*) in another way. The Pehlevi translation of the phrase is: *frâz li pavan afzûnîk mînôash guft*, which seems decisive in favour of de Harlez.

[4] Old Persian *Izates*, according to Tacitus, *Annals*, xii., 14.

[5] Dk., II., 81, 3.

Lord of man."[1] In the *Mainyo-i Khard* the word *yazd* in the singular seems to signify "God" only once; *pânâk yazd drûpûshttar*, "God is the surest protection."[2] But what is more certain and more common is the usage of the plural *Yazdân* as the Divine Name signifying "God" quite as in the modern Persian.[3]

It also appears that among the Gayomarthiyans, one of the Eranian sects, the two principles of good and evil were called *Yazdân* and *Ahriman*.[4]

25. This use of a plural form for expressing the name of God is not only very ambiguous but can be explained only by a Semitic influence; it must be a *pluralis majestatis* formed on the model of the Hebrew אלהים.

(§ 4)

26. Another divine name which had little vitality is the ancient title *bagh*, the old Persian *baga* of the Cuneiform inscriptions,[5] the *bagha* of the Avesta, memory of which is preserved in the name of Bagdâd, "the city created by gods." In the Sassanian inscriptions we read *bag* "God" and *bagi* "divine." The Pehlevi books show us the word in the term *baghô bakht*, which seems to signify "Providence," literally "what is bestowed by God."[6] But generally the word *bagh* seems to have had a very restricted use.

---

[1] Dk., IV., 174, 2. But this version is incorrect; see further on, chap. V., § 207, note.

[2] M. K., xiv., 9.

[3] For instance, see M. K., i., 16, etc. BD., xvii., 8; SIS., I., 0; viii., 22, etc.; Dk., IV., 174, 6, etc. It is often difficult to decide whether we should translate the word "God" in the singular or "the angels" in the plural.

[4] Spiegel, E. A., II., p. 187.

[5] *Baga vazraka Auramazda hya imâm bumim adâ*, &c., "a great God is Auramazda, who has created the earth." N. R., a, &c. (Persipolis).

[6] Cf. MK., viii., 15; xxiv., 5, 7.

VII.—Titles and Attributes of Aûharmazd.

27. Let us now pass from the names to the titles and attributes of the Supreme Being.

In the first place we find that He is called the Being or the Existing *par excellence*.[1] He is also the One Who was, Who is and Who shall always be.[2] He is the pure intangible Spirit;[3] the Spirit of spirits.[4] He is Omniscient and Omnipotent; He is the Supreme Sovereign;[5] He is perfectly good;[6] He is beneficent to all,[7] benevolent[8] and merciful.[9]

28. As to the divine attributes we find recorded: (i) Omniscience (*vispo-âkâsih*)—His omniscience is one of the principal attributes of Aûharmazd. Quite in the beginning of the *Bûn-Dehesh* we read that He is supreme in His omniscience (*bâlisto pavan harvisp-âkâsih*).[10] This knowledge does not extend only to the present and the past but also to the future, for He foresees the end of His combat with the Evil Spirit,[11] who on the contrary possesses a knowledge extending only to the past events,[12] an ἐπιμήθεια. The omniscience of

---

[1] Dk., I., 40, 2.

[2] B D., i., 3; Dk., II., 81, 3.

[3] Sl S., xv., 2.

[4] Dk., II., 81, 3; III., 109, 4. Here we cannot admit the translation of Peshotun: "His perfect knowledge about the *Minoyân Mino*, perfect strength, etc.," as if *Minoyân Minòi* was a word distinct from the being itself of Aûharmazd. Here there is simply question of the attributes of the Creator which are enumerated: "*Minoyâno minoyih, vispo-âkâsih, vispo-ûbânih va vispokhutâiyih va vispovehih, Dâtâr Dâstâr*:" the quality of Spirit of spirits.....of Creator and Preserver, &c. The learned Destur has correctly translated it in his vol. II., p. 103.

[5] Dk., III., 130.

[6] MK., i., 14.

[7] MK., i., 1.

[8] MK., i., 16.

[9] MK., i., 16; Dk., II., 81, 3.

[10] BD., i., 2.

[11] BD., i., 13, 17, 20.

[12] BD., i., 3, 9.

Aûharmazd is the source of the knowledge of other creatures, even the highest ones[1] and the foundation of the innate wisdom of man (*bûn ásno-khartô*).[2] It is also identified with Wisdom (*khart*).[3]

29. (ii) Omnipotence (*vispo-tûbânîh*). This is an attribute[4] generally accompanied by the first and the third in enumeration. This quality appears chiefly in the creation of the creatures; and the action even of the highest creatures on the creation is due to a communication of this supreme power, as in the case of *Vohumanô*.[5] The attribute of *vispo-khutâyîh*, "the supreme sovereignty," "omnisovereignty," if we may coin a word, agrees very nearly with this attribute.[6] It is a consequence of the creation that God is the Supreme Possessor and Lord of everything that exists. It is the title of *khûtâi*, "king, sovereign," that has given birth to the modern name of God— خدا *khodâ*.

30. (iii) The Supreme Goodness of God—This is indicated by the name of *Vispovehîh* (All-goodness).[7] The *Bûn-Dehesh* expresses this same idea saying that "He is supreme in all goodness."[8] The goodness is not only in God himself, but it is also made manifest as the source of supreme beneficence to the creatures, as "Sovereign Beneficence," *vispo-sûtîh*.[9]

We often find the divine attributes enumerated together as follows:—*vispo-âkâsîh*, *vispo-tûbânîh*, *vispo-khûtîh*; these are grouped together and always in the indicated order: sometimes *vispo-vehîh* is added.[10]

---

[1] Dk., I., 40, 3.
[2] Dk., III., 109, 4.
[3] BD., II., 10.
[4] Dk., III., 109, 4.
[5] Dk., I., 40, 3.
[6] Dk., I., 40, 3; III., 109, 4.
[7] Dk., III., 109, 4
[8] BD., I., 2.
[9] Cf. MK., I., 1.
[10] In a post-Sassanian work (*Dâdestân-i-Dînîk*, xxxvii., 4), Aûharmazd is also called *vispâno-vispô*, "All in all." West, PT., II.

31. We also find some very long lists of the titles and excellences of Aûharmazd. Thus in the prayer attributed to "a Destur of the Good Law," and inserted in the *Dinkart*,[1] we read the following attributes after the names and titles mentioned above: "*khôtâi-i mahist va dânâk-dâtâr va fravartâr va pânâk va hûâpar* (?) *va kerfakgar va avokh-shutâr va avîzak dâtastânik...rabâ-i hûstikân*:" that is to say:—

"Supreme sovereign, wise creator, supporter, protector, giver of good things, (?) virtuous in actions, merciful, pure legislator, Lord of the good material creations."

The title 𐬵𐬎𐬱 is obscure. It may be read *huâzar* signifying "very stong" (from Arab. آزر), or "patient" (according to Peshotun); or *huâpar*,, which is more probable in view of the Avestaic *qâpara*, a word in itself not clear, but which may signify "who produces good things" or "who protects by himself."[2] This word is very often found.[3] West reads it *khvâpar*, and translates it as "persistent" or "self-sustaining."[4]

32. Also in another chapter of the same book[5] there is a panegyric on the Creator Auharmazd, who bears the following title in opposition to the other beings:—

---

[1] Dk., II., 81.

[2] Cf. de Harlez, *Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta*, p. 464.

[3] *E.g.* SlS., xxii., 21.

[4] PT., II., 45, n. He also cites the Persian word *khapâra*, "active." Cf. also PT., I., 403, n. The term is equally applied to the other spirits. [Neriosangh in his Sanskrit translation of the *Mainyô-i Khard* seems to give a correct meaning of the term 𐬵𐬎𐬱 which I would prefer to read *khâvar*. The word 𐬵𐬎𐬱𐬌 occurs twice in *the Mainyo-i Khard*, in chap. xxxviii., 4, where it is translated *pâḷaṇa*, and in lvii., 14, where it is translated "*pratipâḷaṇa*, which means "sustainer, nourisher."—Tr.]

[5] Dk., III., 130, 2.

Khûtâi lâ bandîk;[1] *abu lâ farzand; peshîk lâ khvêshnîk; ahûo lâ airmano; rato lâ ratvad; pâtokhshâhî lâ ahûâstak*(?);[2] *pânak lâ pâtak; mânêstak lâ vârûn; zihâk dânishno benafshman lâ afzâr; vînârvand lâ vînârtak; bâkhtârî lâ biharvar; hvârînîtâr lâ hvârînîtak; hamkartâr lâ hamîk-kâr; handâtar lâ handâtak*;[3] *râsînîtâr lâ râsînîshnîk*. That is to say:—

"Sovereign, and not servant; father, and not child; prior, and not dependent; master, and not obedient; chief, and not having a chief; lord, and not subject to a master;[4] protector, and not protected; immutable, and without desires;[5] possessing in himself living knowledge, and not by any medium;[6] disposing, and not disposed; distributing, but not receiving anything; illuminating, and not illuminated; co-operating, but not receiving co-operation; co-acting, and not subject to any co-action; directing, and not directed."

33. This remarkable enumeration already anticipates the relation of God with his creatures, of which we shall have to speak presently. It must be confessed that we have here a description of a very elevated and perfect nature of a Supreme Being even in the Christian sense, and one which does not altogether agree with other conceptions about Aûharmazd which we find in other works of the time,—chiefly those connected with Destiny and Time. The fact is that the monotheism of the *Dinkart* is very pure as compared with that of the other Sassanian writings.

34. The only attribute of the Supreme God which appears to be wanting in these titles of Aûharmazd is that of the immensity or infinity. It is true that he is called *amihânak* in

---

[1] Reading 𐭥𐭭𐭣 for 𐭥𐭭𐭥𐭣 (bundîk).

[2] May this be read *havîstak*, "disciple"?

[3] Reading 𐭲𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭭 for 𐭲𐭠𐭮𐭮𐭥𐭭

[4] Perhaps the fourth and the sixth terms have been interchanged and they should be read: *ahûo lâ ahûâstak* and *pâtokhshâhî la airmano*.

[5] *Vârûn* = "lust, desire;" therefore Aûharmazd is tranquil, passionless.

[6] His knowledge is immediate and not mediate; *afzâr* = "means, instrument."

the *Dinkart*[1] and that Peshotun gives to this word the sense of "infinite and unproportioned."[2] But this title seems to signify simply "without medium," or "independent," as the author continues to explain the sense of the term, saying: "*amihânakîh zak, zagash men avôrâkîh va yehevûnînâkîh dahîshnân aîvâcîk khvêshîh; va mihânak homanand zak i Amarçpandâno, avârîk minoyâno*," etc.[3]

"The word *amihânakîh* designates [freedom] from dependence on the prayers of the creatures created (by) and receiving their existence [from Him]; and those who are dependent are the Ameshaçpands, the other angels," etc.

The author only endeavours to deny the dependence of God on sacrifices and prayers, which doctrine is taught by many oriental religions, especially those of the Hindus.

35. It is in the *Bûn-Dehesh* that the infinity of God is expressly *excluded*, and the reason of this exclusion is also given. Indeed, it is precisely the existence of the Evil Spirit and his kingdom that involves the impossibility of infinity for Aûharmazd.[4] In the beginning of the *Bûn-Dehesh* we read:

"Both the spirits are limited and unlimited, for this supreme light is called infinite, and this profound darkness is called infinite, and there is a void between the two, and thus the one is not contiguous to the other; and, secondly, both the spirits are limited as to their bodies."[5] This means that neither of them is "immense" in the sense of the Christian theology. The author continues to explain that the infinity of Aûharmazd is in His omniscience and supreme sovereignty.[6] Thus we see why we have not found the

---

[1] Dk., II., 91, 3.

[2] In his translation, vol. II., p. 114.

[3] Dk., II., 91, 3, 4.

[4] In the *Dinkart*, III., 127, Aûharmazd is said to be every where, but this has connection with His own creation only.

[5] BD., i., 5.

[6] BD., i., 6, 7.

qualificative "infinite" among the titles of God, and also that this is a rigorous consequence of Dualism.[1]

36. There is still another consequence and it is that Aûharmazd has a fixed residence. This residence, this heaven or paradise, is often described. Aûharmazd dwells in the eternal or endless light (*açari rôshano*), which is a brilliant space (*rôshanîk gâç*), and is expressly denominated "the place of Aûharmazd" (*çûâk-i-Aûharmazd*).[2] Further on this light is clearly distinguished from the created light of the world (*çtîk rôshanîh*).[3] This is therefore one of those eternal divine beings whom we have spoken of (§ 12) and who belong to the class of those whom Spiegel has called "*ausserweltlichen Gottheiten*" (extramundane deities).[4]

The doctrine of the *Dinkart* is quite the contrary. This purely monotheistical work teaches that the residence of Aûharmazd is a part of the created sky (*âçmâno*), and therefore itself a creature.[5]

37. Something must be said here about the *spirituality* of Aûharmazd. It seems that to the Eranians the essential idea

---

[1] [It is related that originally there were 1001 appellations and attributes of God, of which only 101 remain now. These 101 names are found in the editions of the *Vendidâd Sâdê*, and are daily recited 10 times by the Yozdâthregar Mobeds in the beginning of the "Paragnâ" ceremony, which is preparatory to the "Yajashna" ceremony, and thus the recital of them is considered as the foundation of the whole "Yajashna" ceremony. The recital of these names seems to have been introduced in the ceremony from a very ancient time,—perhaps from the Sassanian time. Among them we find the two attributes *Abadah* and *Avîanjâm* (𐭠𐭱𐭲𐭥 or 𐭠𐭱𐭲 and 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭬 or 𐭠𐭥𐭩𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭩𐭥𐭬𐭲) meaning respectively "without any source or beginning" and "without any end." The infinity of God seems therefore to have been known to the ancient Eranians—Tr.]

[2] BD., i., 2.

[3] Ibid., 25.

[4] EA., II., p. 420.

[5] Dk., II., 74, 2.

of this spirituality was only the *invisibility*.[1] Thus Ardâ-i Virâf when introduced in the presence of Aûharmazd saw nothing but a light, although he heard the voice of God ("because I have seen a light but I have not seen the body,") *maman am rôshanîh dît, af am tanû lâ dît*.[2] The modern Parsis explain the title *Mînôyân mînôi* "the Spirit of spirits" by saying that Aûharmazd is invisible to the other spirits who are themselves invisible to man.[3] This idea seems to be very old and is also found in the Avesta. This brilliant light was sometimes considered as the body of Aûharmazd,[4] and sometimes it is also called His residence or garment. It was in no wise a real body, but only a kind of manifestation of His presence, as the שכינה of the Old Testament. If in the Sassanian sculptures Aûharmazd has been represented under a human figure,[5] it no more indicates an anthropomorphism in the religious ideas of the epoch than the figures of God the Father under the form of a venerable old man do in Christian art. It seems however that Aûharmazd could reveal Himself to Zartusht in a dream and in the human form, but the latter could not touch Him by the hand, because "I am an intangible spirit," says Aûharmazd, "it is not possible to hold me by the hand.[6]

VIII.—God the Creator, His relations with the Creation.

38. The favourite title of Aûharmazd is that of the Creator (*dâtâr*). We see thereby that the verb employed to signify

---

[1] From the translation of Destur Peshotun (vol. III., p. 174,) one would say that in chapter 127 of the *Dinkart* Aûharmazd was expressly called "invisible." It is sufficient to examine the text to see that not a single word is there said about it.

[2] AVN., ci., 11, cf. Dante.

[3] Peshotun, Dk., II., 103, n.

[4] Spiegel, EA., II., 67.

[5] For example at Naksh-i Rustam near Persepolis where Aûharmazd is on horse-back with the inscription: "The figure of the God Aûharmazd." See the engraving in Justi's G.A.P., p. 69. Also the same thing at Firuzâbâd and Naksh-i Rajab, Justi, p. 178.

[6] SlS., xv., 1, 2, 3. This passage is quoted as being in the Avesta.

"to create" is *dâtano* which is nothing else than the Avestaic root *dâ*. The Hûzvaresh term which often takes its place is *barhînîtano* from Semitic ברא. Another favourite term, especially in the *Dinkart*, is *âvôritano*.[1]

What are we to think of this creation? Is it a real creation *ex nihilo* or formation from a pre-existing matter? Spiegel[2] and West[3] believe that neither the Avestaic nor the Pehlevi terms can be understood in the sense of a real creation *ex nihilo*. However this opinion is not easily reconciled with the very beautiful passage of the *Bûn-Dehesh* which is translated by West in the following manner:—

39. Zaratusht asked of Aûharmazd, as regards the final resurrection, how the human body which has been dismembered and parcelled out by wind and water will be formed again. Aûharmazd answered him thus:—

"When through me the sky arose from the substance of the ruby, without columns, on the spiritual support of the far-compassed light; when through me the earth arose which bore the material life, and there is no other maintainer of the worldy creation but it; when by me the sun and moon and stars are conducted in the firmament of luminous bodies; when by me corn was created so that, scattered about in the earth, it grew again and returned with increase; when by me colour of various kinds was created in plants; when by me fire was created in plants and other things without combustion; when by me a son was created and fashioned in the womb of a mother, and the structure severally of the skin, nails, blood, feet, eyes, ears and other things was produced; when by me legs were created for the water, so that it flows away, and the cloud was created which carries the water of the world and

[1] There is also the verb *biharînîtano* from the word *bihar* = "lot, share." Cf. Dk., I., 40, 3.

[2] EA., I., 454.

[3] PT., I., p. 9, n.

rains there where it has a purpose; when by me the air was created which conveys in one's eye-sight, through the strength of the wind, the lowermost upwards according to its will, and one is not able to grasp it with the hand outstretched; each one of them, when created by me, was herein more difficult than causing the resurrection, for it is an assistance to me in the resurrection *that they exist, but when they were formed it was not forming the future out of the past* (*lâ yehevûnt yehevûnît men yehevûnt*)."[1]

40. Another very remarkable expression is that of the creation accomplished 'in' or 'with the assistance' of time. In the *Mainyo-i Khard* it is said that the Creator Aûharmazd formed (*brehînîd*) the material and spiritual worlds from His own splendour and in (for ?) the glory (?) of the boundless time (*ezh an i qesh rôshanî u pa âfrin i Zuruân-i akanâra*).[2]

This is very obscure. Perhaps it may be translated "for his eternal glory." Spiegel translates: "with the acclamaton of the boundless time" (*mit dem Jubelrufe der unendlichen Zeit*).[3] Further on, it is in this same boundless time that Aharman made his treaty of 9,000 years with Aûharmazd.[4] May it be that *akanâra* is only an *epitheton perpetuum* applied to the time in general? In that case these expressions would be employed only to exclude the creation *ab æterno*. Or is it that the *Zrvan* is taken here as Destiny?[5]

---

[1] BD., xxx., 5, 6. As for the style and the ideas this passage must be compared with Job. xxxviii.

[2] MK., viii., 8. Neriosangh translates by the ablative: *tasmât yah sviyah udyotah âshîrvâdena ca samayasya anantasya*. Spiegel has shown that the expression "God has created everything from time" in the Ul., p. 2, is owing to a false reading of لدن for جز and it must be translated "everything is created except time." The author of the *Ulemâ*, as we know him, was a *Zervanist*.

[3] EA., II., 6.

[4] MK., viii., 11.

[5] See §§ 6, 7. It is certain for ZS., iv., 5; perhaps also for ZS., i., 27.

41. The doctrine is very clearly expressed in the *Dinkart* that Aûharmazd is the Creator of all creatures without any exception. Indeed, we read in the prayer quoted below:—

"Afrîto, pavan nefshman anâm bûtig zavar va dânâkîh, avartar çash Ameshoçpand va kabêdî yazatân va rôshan vahist va garôtmân va gartôî açmâno va hvar-î tijâk va mah-î bâmig va star-i kabêd tôkhmak, va vât va andarvâî va âtesh va mayâ va zamîk va hûrvar va gospand va ayôkhshûsto va anshûtâ" [1]*: i.e.*

"He has created through his own essential power and knowledge six supreme Ameshospands and numerous Yazds, the most excellent paradise and the Garôtmân, the vault of the sky, the burning sun, the shining moon and the stars of numerous germs, the wind and the atmosphere, the fire and the water, the earth and the plants, the animals, metals and man."

42. From His having created the world and all beings it follows that there are relations existing between Him and His creatures. The Pehlevi books speak very often about these relations. We have anticipated many of them while giving the lists of the titles attributed to Aûharmazd (§ 32). We can sum up these relations as follows:—

43. Aûharmazd is not only the Creator but also the God who sustains (*dâshtâr)* His creation.[2] He protects (*pânak*) it and governs it like a sovereign (*pâtokhshâhî ahû*);[3] He directs (*râçînîtâr*)[4] it. He approves (*patiraftâr*) it, as it is worthy (*çajâh*) of Him;[5] it is His kingdom (*pâtokhshâhîh*).[6] While the Evil Spirit introduces disorder in the creation,[7] Aûharmazd can draw good out of evil itself.[8] He reveals Himself to His creatures by the visible creation.[9] He rewards and punishes His creatures according to their merits and

---

[1] Dk., II., 81, 3.

[2] Dk., II., 81, 3.
[3] Dk., III., 130.
[4] Dk., III., 130; I., 41.
[5] Dk., I., 41, cf. Pers. *sazâ*.
[6] Ibid.
[7] MK., xxxiv.
[8] Dk., iv., 162; MK., viii., 24-26.
[9] Dk., iv., 120.

demerits.[1] He is the author of the Sacred Writings (*i.e.*, the *Avesta*).[2] He is the master of mankind.[3] He dwells among the good,[4] wherefore the righteous are called "men of God" (*yazdân martûmân*).[5] He has relations chiefly with the Yazds who assist Him in His works,—for instance, in the production and distribution of rain[6]—but chiefly in the moral government of the world and in assisting His creatures.[7] Of His special relations with *Vohûman* we shall have to speak by-and-by.

44. Consequently all creatures should pray to Him and should adore Him[8] in a manner which recalls to our mind the "faith, hope and charity" of our catechism. This worship of God, which is performed in the pure and good religion of the Mazdayasnians, is good. Its foundation is virtue, truth and faith without doubting (*avêgûmânîh*) in God. Man is grateful to God, whether he has obtained little or much benefit from Him, and when distress and evils come upon him from Aharman and his demons he neither doubts the benevolence of God nor lessens his thankfulness unto Him.....and of this he doubts not, that God, beyond what is good, does no harm to man.[9]

IX.—Relations between God and Destiny.

45. The *Mainyo-i Khard* very openly inculcates that there is a divine Providence. Indeed, this work distinguishes what is called *baghô-bakht* from Destiny (*bakht*).[10] West sees divine Providence in this term.[11] He seems to us to be right, because the passage referred to gives the following

[1] Dk., II., 90.
[2] Dk., I., 5, 3.
[3] Dk., iv., 174, 2 (cf. § 24).
[4] Dk., III., 132; I., 55, 4.
[5] AVN., lxxiii., 8. Haug remarks that the expression is rare.
[6] Dk., III., 112.
[7] MK., Dk. passim.
[8] MK., liii.; Dk., II., 81.
[9] MK., lii., 5—15.
[10] MK., xxiv., 5—8.
[11] See West, MK., pp. 37, 142.

definition: "Destiny (*bakht*) is that which is ordained from the very beginning; and *baghô-bakht* is that which is bestowed *secondly* (*dîdî ca bakshend*)."[1] Here a mention is made of the *Yazds*, the mediums of communication with the action of God;[2] and it appears correct to understand the expression "second time, or secondly" as the result of the prayer. In another place[3] it is said that the divine Providence or (divine interposition) will destroy at the end of the world the creatures of every kind made by Aharman. The etymology of the word confirms this interpretation, because *baghô-bakht* literally means "what is bestowed by God."[4] However this divine interposition is very rare (*kam*),[5] because Ahrman by the assistance of the planets greatly hinders the action of the *yazds*.

46. The influence of Destiny is terrible indeed. "Even with the strength and power of wisdom and knowledge, even with arms it is impossible to contend with Destiny. For when predestination for good or for evil shows itself, the wise becomes foolish in action and the foolish becomes intelligent; and the timid (*vâd-dîl*) becomes courageous and the courageous becomes timid; and the industrious becomes lazy and the lazy becomes industrious. Precisely because it is predestined for one thing, the cause which must produce it enters in man and paralyses any other effect."[6] It is impossible for human activity to obtain advantages which are not predestined.[7]

---

[1] The Pazend *dîdî* is "an old misreading for Pehlevi *tani*," according to West, p. 61.

[2] See chap. III., cf. Spiegel, E. A., II., 11. Perhaps *yazdân* means "God."

[3] MK., vii., 15.

[4] About *bagh* = "God," see § 26.

[5] MK., xxiv., 8.

[6] MK., xxiii.

[7] MK., xxii.

47. But this idea of Destiny like the other Sabean doctrine connected with the idea of the influence of the planets,[1] borrowed probably from the neighbouring religions, greatly interferes with the conception of the supremacy of the God Aûharmazd. This was clearly felt and reservations were made[2] in favour of the intervention of God. Thus it was naturally asked whether this power of Destiny being admitted, it was worth while to pray? Do the *yazds* (*yazdân*, perhaps God) bestow upon man for his prayers and good actions things other [than what has been predestined].[3] It is in answer to this difficulty that the author gives the above-mentioned explanation of the term *baghô-bakht*, which, for the *Mainyô-i Khard* at least, saves its monotheism from an irreconcilable fatalism.

X.—The Doctrine of Divine Wisdom.

48. We have just traced the portrait of the Aûharmazd of the Sassanide period and seen that He is the same *Ahura-mazda* of the Avesta, though some developments have been introduced, partly owing to philosophical speculations[4] and partly to some foreign influences.[5] It now remains for us to examine two other very important and remarkable external influences, which have left their unmistakable traces in the religious literature of the period.

49. One of the most important works of the Sassanide literature is unquestionably the remarkable book which has hitherto been known to us under the Pazend name of *Mainyo-i Khard* or under the Persian designation of *Minokhirad*, but which in Pehlevi[6] is probably called *Dînâ-i Mainog-i Khirad* that is to say: "the doctrine of the Spirit of Wisdom." Who was this Spirit of Wisdom?

---

[1] Cf. MK., viii., 17.

[2] MK., xxii., 6.

[3] MK., xxiv., 2.

[4] For instance, Zervanism.

[5] For instance, Destiny and the influence of the planets.

[6] West, in the Muséon, No. 3, 1883. Since translated by him in *Sacred Books of the East*, PT., part iii., 1886.

50. In the first chapter of the treatise which bears his name the Spirit of Wisdom seems to be considered as one of the Ameshoçpands, for it is said that Aûharmazd has performed for him more prayer and worship than for the other Ameshoçpands.[1] If this expression is not a rhetorical figure, *Mainyo-i Khard* must be identified with *Vohûman*, an identification already suggested by the comparison of the terms *Khratus Vohumananhô* in the Avesta[2] and by the traditional version *Asn-khard* of these words.[3] But in other chapters he is clearly distinguished from the Ameshoçpands.[4] That *Açn-khard* and *Mainyo-i Khard* are the words for one and the same being is proved from another passage.[5] As regards many other abstract names in certain passages, it seems sometimes difficult to decide whether they are personified or not.

51. Elsewhere Wisdom appears also to be identified with Aûharmazd, because in the *Bûn-Dehesh* the latter is clearly called "*Khard harviçp âkâs*," the Omniscient Wisdom.[6] It is taught in the *Mainyo-i Khard* that Aûharmazd has created the world by means of Wisdom (*pa khard*)[7] and the creatures in the world also by means of the Innate Wisdom (*pa âçn khard*).[8] The advancement of the world and of the spirit *i.e.* of the material and spiritual creation is made through Wisdom (*pa khard*).[9] Mention is made of the Spirit of Wisdom of the Lord, Aûharmazd, and of the Ameshoçpands (*Hôrmazd-i qadâê u Ameshâçpandân Mainyo-i Khard*).[10] This Spirit of Wisdom can assume a visible body, as he did for the sage (*dânâ*),[11] whose conversation with him forms the whole of the *Mainyo-i Khard*. Now, this spirit himself affirms that he has been created by Aûharmazd like the

---

[1] MK., i., 53.
[2] Yas., xxviii., 1 (Wester., 2).
[3] EA., II., 33.
[4] MK., viii., 8.
[5] MK., lvii., 4.
[6] MK., i., 11, 49.
[7] MK., i., 11.
[8] MK., i., 49.
[9] MK., i., 50.
[10] MK., i., 51.
[11] MK., i., 57.

Ameshoçpands and the other creatures;[1] and that "I who am the Innate Wisdom (*Açn khard*), have been with Aûharmazd from the beginning."[2]

52. We here reproduce the following praises of Wisdom:—

"The Creator Aûharmazd created, preserves and moves the *yazds* of the spiritual and material worlds and all the remaining creatures and creation, by the power, strength, knowledge and skilfulness of the Innate Wisdom[3]; and at the end of the latter days it is possible to cause annihilation and destruction of Aharman and his malformations more fully, by the power of the Innate Wisdom.[4] Soshyâns and Kaikhusrav and those who cause the resurrection of the dead and the final body (*tan-i pasîn*), are able to act more fully, by means of the power and assistance of Wisdom. The knowledge and skilfulness of the world, the learning and instruction of every trade and all advancement of the seasons, are through Wisdom. And the souls of the righteous, in escaping from hell to the paradise Garôthmân, arrive better by means of the power and protection of Wisdom. It is possible to solicit the good living, enjoyment, comfort and every advantage of men in the world, through the power of Wisdom. The capability of preserving the seeds of men, beasts, herds and flocks and also of every remaining creature and creation of Aûharmazd, the Lord, which are in the womb, that they shall not die from hunger and thirst; and the making evident that their food is in the womb, and the bestowal and maturing of the limbs, are possible to effect more fully, by means of the great strength and force of Wisdom. The arrangement of the earth and the distribution of water in the earth, the growth

---

[1] MK., viii., 3, 8. [2] MK., lvii., 4.

[3] [Cf. Ahuramazd Yasht, 26. The world first began through the agency of the wisdom and knowledge of Ahuramazda, and it will end also through the agency of them.—Tr.]

[4] [Cf. Haug, *Essays, &c.*, 2 ed., p. 151. "Wisdom is the shelter from lies, the annihilation of the destroyer (the evil spirit)." Yas. xxx., 10.—Tr.]

and the increase of plants, the colour of various kinds, and scent, taste and pleasantness of various things are ordained and made more fully through Wisdom.[1] And the arrangement of Alburz around the world, and making apparent of the earth of the seven *késhvars*,[2] and the sky above the mount Alburz; and the motion of the sun, moon and the twelve constellations; and the six seasons of Gahambârs and the five times of Farvardyân; and heaven which is in the place of good thoughts, and the place of good words, and the place of good deeds, and the all radiant Garothmân which is pre-eminent; and the road of the heavens and the worlds, the Bridge of Candour, are made and ordained through the power of Wisdom. And the watery clouds seizing water from the sea and advancing in the atmosphere, and gradually dripping, drop by drop, to the earth; and the knowing the properties of heaven and hell, which is for the creatures of Aûharmazd and Aharman, and the protection of Aûharmazd and the Ameshoçpands and the remaining Yazds over their own creatures; and the devastation and destructiveness of Aharman and the demons, over the creatures of Aûharmazd, it is possible to know more fully by the power of Wisdom. And the sayings of the good religion of the Mazdayasnians, the experience of the worlds, the demolition of the demons' bodies which are of the world, and the making them concealed which is from the sight of men, are done more fully by means of the pre-eminent appliances of Wisdom. Also the struggle and conflict which is with the non-Âryâs, and the destruction of Aharman and the demons, it is possible to perform through the power of Wisdom. It is also possible to cause the sun's observation, of the hidden water below the earth and to bring it for cultivation and habitableness, and the advantage, ease and enjoyment of men, beasts, herds and flocks, through the power of Wisdom. The understanding of the pain and sickness of men, beasts, herds and flocks and the remaining

[1] Cf. the passage of BD. (xxx., 5, 6), mentioned in § 39.

[2] For these terms, see our chapter on Cosmology.

animals, and the bringing unto them medicine and remedy and health and ease, are possible more fully by means of the power of Wisdom...And it is evident that he who is good in disposition and good in conduct, then praise is to be considered his from Wisdom...This also is declared that: Aûharmazd...made an assembly with the Ameshoçpands and Yazds of every kind, and the praise of that which is His own Wisdom was spoken and recounted by Him."[1]

53. In other verses it is said that it was by means of Wisdom that Zaratusht triumphed over the temptations of Aharman[2]; that Gushtâsp, Zaratusht, Gayomard and others obtained by means of Wisdom a share more fully from heaven; and that it was on account of the absence of full Wisdom that Jîm, Fredûn and Kâûs were less successful in obtaining heaven.[3]

54. We have quoted this long passage in order that we may compare it with the doctrine of the Sapiential books of the Old Testament, such as *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Proverbs*. We will not develop here this comparison, of itself so important, but content ourselves by suggesting the principal parallelisms :—

I came out from the mouth of the Most High, the first born before all creatures. *Ecclesiasticus*, *xxiv*, 5.[4]	I, who am the Innate Wisdom, have been with Aûharmazd from the beginning and before the heavens and the material world. MK., lvii., 4.
From the beginning and before the ages I am created and I will not cease at all unto eternity, and I have served before Him in His holy residence. *Ecclesiasticus*, xxiv, 14.	

[1] MK., lvii., 5-18, 23, 30.
[2] MK., lvii., 24-29.
[3] MK., lvii., 20, 21.
[4] Cf. also *Ecclesiastes*, i, 4.

All wisdom is from the Lord God and has always been with Him. *Ecclesiasticus*, i, 1.

God possessed me in the beginning of His way, before He had created anything in the beginning. I was established from all eternity during the ages before the earth existed. *Proverbs*, viii., 22, 23.

Thou hast formed man through Thy wisdom to reign over the creations made by Thee (*τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γενομένων κτισμάτων*) and to rule the world with righteousness and justice. *Wisdom*, ix, 2, 3.

The Creator has created and preserved and made to move the Yazds of the heaven and earth and all other creatures and creations through the power.....of the Innate Wisdom. MK., lvii., 5.

Aûharmazd has created these creatures and creations which are in the world through the Innate Wisdom, and the advancement of the material and spiritual worlds is by means of Wisdom. MK., i., 49, 50.

God has given me true wisdom in order to know the arrangement of the world and the force of the elements, the beginning and the middle of the times, the alterations of the tropics (*τροπῶν ἀλλαγὰς*)[1] and the changes in the seasons, the circuit of the year and the position of the stars, the na-

The knowledge of the world.....of the management of the seasons is by means of Wisdom. The fact that the cloud seizes water from the sea and advances in the atmosphere and drips it drop by drop on the earth; the knowledge of the spiritual and material properties.....it is

[1] Beelen, *Hetboek der Wijsheid*, p. 48, n.

tures of animals and the ferocity of wild beasts, the force (βίασ) of the winds, the thoughts of men, the difference of plants and the [medicinal] properties of roots and all that is either concealed or visible (κρυπτὰ καὶ ἐμφανῆ), [1]—I have known, because wisdom which is the foremost of all things taught it to me. *Wisdom*, vii., 17, 21.

I was present when He prepared the heavens, when He enclosed the abyss by a fixed law and limits, when He fixed the firmament above and weighed the sources of water, when He assigned limits to the sea and gave a law to the waters in order that they may not pass out of their limits; when He laid the foundation of the earth, then I [Wisdom] was with Him, arranging everything. *Proverbs*, viii., 27-30.

possible to know all these fully by means of Wisdom. The knowledge of the pains and diseases of men, beasts, herds and flocks and other creatures, and the application of medicines and remedies to these is possible through the power of Wisdom. MK., lvii.

The germs of creatures are preserved, and the embryo lives and is nourished through the power of Wisdom (11). The arrangement of the earth and water; the growth, colours and odours of plants (12); the arrangement of the mount Alburz which surrounds the world, the manifestation of the earth and her seven continents (*kêshvars*), and of the sky on high, the motion of the sun, moon, constellations and of the times and the seasons; the three paradises, the road to the next world (13); the action of the sun on the water hidden in the earth (17);—all these things are accomplished through the aid of Wisdom. MK., lvii.

[1] The Vulgate has *improvisa*, and perhaps read ἀφανῆ, see Beelen, *Hetboek der Wijsheid*, p. 48.

[God] has created [Wisdom] in the Holy Spirit. *Ecclesiasticus*, I., 9.

Those to whom [Wisdom] has appeared in vision love her at her appearance. *Ecclesiasticus*, I., 15.

Wisdom shall praise herself. *Ecclesiasticus*, xxiv, 1.

Doth not Wisdom cry? .... .saying: O you men! I call unto you and my voice is addressed to the sons of men. Ye little ones, understand Wisdom! and ye fools, attend! ...Hear me: blessed are they who follow my ways. Hear instruction and be wise and refuse it not. Blessed is that man who heareth me... Whoso shall find me, shall find life and obtain the favour of the Lord. *Proverbs*, viii., 1-5, 32, 33, 35.

Wisdom has protected and conducted Adam, Noah, Abraham and other patriarchs; the people of Israel against their enemies, &c. *Wisdom*, x., xi.

The Innate Wisdom and the incarnation of the virtue of Vohûman are born of the Çpenâk minôi (lit. the Holy Spirit). Dk., III., 122, 123.

The Spirit of Wisdom on account of the thoughts and wishes of the sage displayed unto him a body, and it was said unto him by it: Friend who praiseth me!... seek instruction from me, who am the Spirit of Wisdom, that I may be to thee a guide to the pleasure of God and the good, and to the deliverance of the body in the material world and of the soul in the spiritual one. MK., i., 57-61.

Wisdom has assisted and made Gayômart (the first man), Gushtâsp, Zaratusht, Jîm, Fredun and Kâûs, to prosper; it has assisted the Mazdayasnians, especially against the non-Âryâs, etc. MK., lvii., 20, 21, 16.

55. It would be easy to multiply these quotations, but we do not wish to insist on the point any longer. It appears to us that the passages we have just quoted are sufficient to suggest to our readers the very remarkable coincidences of

many ideas and even locutions peculiar both to the Σοφία of the Sapiential Books and to the *Âçno-khart* or *Mainyo-i Khard* of the Sassanian philosophy. Besides, numerous proverbs and maxims and aphorisms of morality and of prudence of these books of the Old Testament have a striking parallelism with those that are found in so great a number in the *Mainyo-i Khard* and to a certain degree in the *Dinkart*. We shall quote some instances therefrom in our chapter on Ethics (chapter VI.). We think therefore that no one will have the least difficulty in agreeing with Spiegel[1] when he affirms the close relationship between the Eranian *Âçno-khart* and Σοφία of the Old Testament, of the Alexandrines and of the more recent Gnostics; and that the Eranians have been in this indebted to the West.[2]

56. However, in converting the Alexandrine Σοφία to their own use, the Eranians, faithful to their instinct of systematization, easily managed to find a place for it in the ancient hierarchy of the Avesta. For this purpose they identified personified Wisdom with the *Âçno-khart,* which is no other than the *Âçnô-khratus* of the Avesta. Now, these Eranian terms are employed to signify first of all the natural intellect and innate wisdom of man, as distinct from knowledge acquired by teaching. For instance, see in the Avesta: Yaçna xxii., 29 (Wester. 25); xxv., 17 (Wester. 6); Yt. ii., 1; Siroz. i, 29.

---

[1] E. A., II., 34, cf. *Trad. Lit.*, p. 136, sqq.

[2] [Almost all the Sassanian works seem to have been based upon Nasks or portions of the Avesta which are now lost but which were extant at the time of the Sassanides, and it is seen from the *Dinkart* (books viii. and ix.) that many such Nasks were available at the time when it was written. Could not the doctrine of Wisdom as contained in the *Mainyo-i Khard* have therefore been indebted for its development to one of these *Nasks* rather than to the West? And could not the West have borrowed the ideas of that doctrine from the Iranians, the more especially as it is a historical fact that the Jews were long in close contact with the Iranians?—Tr.]

In the Pehlevi books *Âçno-khart* is one of the principal faculties of the human soul. Mention of it is often made,[1] and it is opposed to *Goshânçrût-khart*, 'wisdom acquired by hearing or by experience.'[2] On the other hand, mention is also made of the innate Wisdom of Aûharmazd Himself as one of His attributes; it has not been created by Him like the human faculty, but it belongs to His own being.

It is not certain whether the term *Âçno-khratus* is used in the Avesta in this double signification. However, Spiegel believes to have found this sense in Yt. x., 107, and probably in Yt. xvii., 2.[3] Such is also the case with *Spenta mainyus*. 'The Wisdom of God' was spoken of just as 'the good spirit of God' was spoken of. Now, is it not natural to personify this wisdom and then to identify it with the Σοφία, the more so because this very word is used in the Sapiential writings precisely in the various senses which we have undeniably established for the Eranian *khart*.[4] We believe that we here meet with a characteristic development of the Sassanian epoch.

XI.—*Doctrine of Vohûman, Son of the Creator.*

57. From a Jewish influence of the Alexandrine school we now pass to a purely Christian influence.

There is a very important passage in the *Dinkart*,[5] which seems to us to have been misunderstood by Peshotun, and which we transcribe and translate more exactly below:—

---

[1] Dk., II., 81, 4; III., 109, 4; I., 60, 2.

[2] This is the *khart* of the *Mainyo-i Khard*, xlviii., 8-9. Perhaps *Goshânsrût-khart* is to *Spenta Armaiti* what *Âçno-khart* is to Vohumano? Cf. Spiegel, E.A., II., 38.

[3] E.A., II., 34.

[4] "Wisdom...that is to say religion and virtue...By Wisdom is also sometimes indicated in the Book of Wisdom the Wisdom of God (*Sapientia essentialis*) and sometimes it indicates the personal Divine Wisdom (*Sapientia notionalis*), the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. And even in other significations does the name *Wisdom* occur in this Book." Beelen, *Boek der Wijsheid*, p. 1.

[5] Dk., I., 40, 2, 3, 4.

" (2) *Aito benafshman aîtoîh, zak i pîtâk; va pîtâkih benafshman val dânâkîh. Vîrûk benafshman peshca men kûr; ghanca val benafshman Çpenâk-mînôî pîtâk yevûnto. Hamâi benafshman aîtoîh.*

" (3) *Va pîtâkîh zak i aîtô pavan aîtoîh valca barâ gabrâ benafshman âkharîhâ. Cigun pîtakîh Aûharmazd pavan âitoih val Vôhûman, âkhar men avôrîtô; zak-ash Vôhûman pavan kûnishnô yehevûntô. Levatman âfrîtarîh-i Vôhûman pavan Dâtâr, fratûm dahishnîh, va levatman dahishnô dânâkîh, dino ham vakhçâkîh.*[1] *Va avîh zak-ash khûtîh va pasajakîh-i Vôhûman, pavan Dâtâr benmanîh va Dâtâr pavan Vôhûmqn abûîh. Dinô nakîzo adînca zak-i val benafshman Dâtâr peshca men Vôhûman dahishnô pîtâk yehevûnto. Val Vôhûman âkâçîh and matô yekavimûnît, cand Dâtâr patash dânâkinîtô; ghânca dahishnô ayâzishnô tûbânô pâîk and, cand Dâtâr men nefshman vîçpâkâsîh va vîçptûbânîh va vîçpkhûtâîh bîharînîtô.*[2] *Láca zak apartar pavan dânîshnô tùbânô val zak apartûnîh pavan dânîshnô tûbâno val zak apartûnîh ayazîshnô yehevúnît.*

" (4) *Va menkêshyârânô manô Dâtâr benafshman ayûf pavan abû, benman, abû lâ pêsh men benman, benman lá âkhar men abû, kolâ dû-bânddâîik hamâik : kesh levatman yehévûntô lâ shâyaçtanô.*[3] *Bîhar-i aîvak benafshman, hamat benafshman aîvak avoraçtô. Âkharca vâdûnand pavan dû pesh va dû pesh va dû âkhar, aîvak men tanî mehim abû benman guftanô, zak-i dû peshîh vâ dû âkharîh aîvak men tanî pavan abîtarîh va benmanîh yehevûnît. Yîn tûkhmakhô-i mindâvam revanô, va lá mehim abû-i pavan cîhar pesh men benman, benman ; afash va benman pavan cîhar âkhar men abû, abû.*"

58. " The Existing (cf. § 27) is self-existence, this is what was revealed; and the revelation itself was for knowledge.

---

[1] Or, *hamniazâkîh* ? מ ט ע ש ט

[2] Instead of the infinitive *biharinitano.*

[3] Probably it must be read : *yehevûntano lá shâyaçto.*

The knowledge of Himself was before His operation and was revealed to His own Holy Spirit.[1] It was the perfect self-existence.

"And the revelation of this existing One by His essence was also subsequently unto man himself. As the revelation of Aûharmazd by His essence was unto Vohûman after his creation, His Vohûman existed by formation. In the creation of Vohûman by the Creator was the first creation ; and with the creation came knowledge and the development of the Law. And this excellence of his nature and the creation of Vohûman by the Creator [is called] 'filiation,' and [the relationship of] the Creator to Vohûman [is called] 'paternity.' The exposition of the Law is in this manner, and this (Law) was manifest to the Creator Himself before the creation of Vohûman. Knowledge came to Vohûman in the proportion in which the Creator made it known to him ; and the power in the accomplishment of the creation came to him in the proportion in which the Creator communicated it to him by His own omniscience, omnipotence and omni-sovereignty. And he who is very powerful in his knowledge is not on account of that knowledge superior to this supremacy either in power or in accomplishment.

"And as to those teachers who [say that] the Creator, in Himself or by a Father, is Son, that neither the Father is before the Son nor the Son after the Father, that both of them are necessarily co-eternal : according to religion this could not be. The lot of the one is in himself[2] ; whilst the other is himself created. And afterwards they work as two principles[3] ; but the one (being) anterior and the other posterior of the two, the one by opposition to the other is called 'Son' comparatively to the 'Father.' This anteriority and

---

[1] Or, "and his Holy Spirit was to Himself revealed."

[2] He has self-existence, He is the *aîto*.

[3] Unless, however, the repetition of the word *dû pesh* should be erased, and the translation runs : "and afterwards they work, as the one being anterior and the other posterior of the two."

posteriority of the two, on the part of the one in opposition to the other, involves paternity and filiation. In generation there is a certain order, and the Father being by origin anterior to the Son is not Son; and the Son being by origin posterior to the Father is not Father."

59. There is nothing extraordinary in Aûharmazd being called the father,[1] because this title is frequently found even in the Avesta.[2] Thus from Yaçna xxxi., 8, it follows that the father of Vohûman, named in Yaçna xliv. (Wester. xlv.), 4, is Ahuramazda.[3]

But it is unquestionable that Spiegel[4] is right in saying that all these locutions are purely and evidently figurative. Thus in some Pehlevi texts we find the epithet of father given to Aûharmazd.[5] But it appears that in the passage which we have just quoted, we have a polemical passage relating to a paternity in a very different sense. Indeed the author is trying to establish (i) that Aûharmazd is the Supreme Being (*âît*), self-existing (*benafshman aîtoîh*), and (ii) that he existed alone in the beginning, having a perfect knowledge of Himself through His own spirit (*Spenâk mînôî*). Then (iii) he endeavours to show that Vohûman has been created (*avôriçto*) by Aûharmazd, and that after having created him this God revealed Himself unto him. These are the reasons, he says,

[1] [Cf. Haug, *Essays, &c.*, 2nd ed., pp. 151 *n.* and 306. "*Vohumano* represents the life in men and animals, the principle of vitality. If Ahuramazda is called the father of *Vohumano*, it means that all vital powers in the animated beings have sprung out of him, as the supreme being. Vohumano is regarded as the vital faculty in all living beings of the good creation. Originally his name was nothing but a term for the good principle, as emanating from Ahuramazda, who is, therefore, called the father of Vohumano. He pervades the whole living good creation, and all the good thoughts, words and deeds of men are wrought by him."—Tr.]

[2] Vd., xix., 45 (Wester. 13); Yaç., xliv. (Wester. xlv.), 4; Yt., xvii., 2, 16.

[3] Spiegel, E.A., II., 32.

[4] E.A., II., 24.

[5] Dk., III., 130; cf. § 32.

for which Aûharmazd can be called the Father of Vohûman and the latter the son of Aûharmazd. Firstly, on account of the excellence of his nature (*avîh zak-ash khûtîh*) Vohûman, who is the first (*fratûm*) and the most noble (*apartar*) creature, is worthy to be called καὶ ἐξοχὴν, 'the Son of God.' Secondly, on account of his creation or formation (*paçajakîh*) by God, he may be called 'the son.' But all his knowledge, however great it may be, and his influence over the progress of the creation (*ghan dahishnô ayâzishnô*) have been communicated to him by his Creator, who is supreme, and he cannot be called superior in comparison to Him. Then (iv) the author refutes those theologians (*kêsh-yârâno*) who try to prove that the Father and the Son are identical and co-eternal, and that there is no priority nor posteriority between the two. This according to him is impossible: the one is self-existing, the other exists only by means of creation. It may be true that both of them act as principles as far as the rest of the creation is concerned, but the one is always anterior to the other, and for this reason they are Father and Son. If this be a paternity and a filiation, is it not contrary to the nature of things, which follow a fixed order in generation, that the Father should be identical with the Son and the Son with the Father?

60. Is it not abundantly clear that the *Dinkart* is attacking here a Christian doctrine, or rather an attempt made by some leaders of the Mazdayasnian religion to introduce and assimilate a Christian doctrine into the midst of Mazdeism? We would say that these doctors wished to identify God, the Son, or the Λογὸς of the New Testament with *Vohûman* of the Avesta, precisely as we have seen the Σοφία borrowed from the Jews and identified with the *Açno-khart*. Our author seems to admit a great deal. He is willing to place *Vohûman* very high above other creatures—even higher than what he was in the epoch of the Avestaic *Amesha-çpentâs*. He will also allow him a very important part in the work of creation—even that he should act as a "principle;" he allows him to be superior to any other being by his

knowledge of the nature of God; finally he acknowledges him as "the Son of God," and God as his Father. But notwithstanding this he does not at all tolerate that *Vohûman* should be identified with God, that he should exist with God from the beginning, and that his existence, his knowledge and his power were not communicated to him but original. And he proves his theme by the *argumentum ad hominem* and *reductio ad absurdum*. He proves by the fact that the one is the Son and the other the Father that the one must be posterior to the other: otherwise the very sense of the terms—paternity and filiation—is lost.

61. Such is the argumentation of this chapter of the *Dinkart* against the doctrine of the Λογὸς in the very imperfect sense in which it was understood.[1] When we consider the number of Christians that there was in Persia under the Sassanides even in the court of the kings[2] and that the first Œcumenical Councils, wherein the dogma of the Λογὸς was the principal subject of the definitions, were held precisely in Sassanide times, it seems quite natural that we should find some traces of this doctrine in a religious work like the *Dinkart*. It is true that these traces are those of hostility towards the Christian doctrine, but when we think of the very remarkable position given to Vohûman even in this passage, we cannot deny that the influence of Christian ideas has been very profound.[3]

---

[1] Is there perhaps an allusion to the Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον of the New Testament in the *Çpenâk-mînôî* in the beginning? A Mazdayasnian would have less difficulty in accepting this idea as understood in his sense, see § 23.

[2] Cf. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, vol. iv., pp. 98-101.

[3] [Dr. Casartelli often speaks of the influence of the Jewish and Christian religions upon Mazdeism, but it is the opinion of many eminent scholars, both in Europe and America, that the Jewish and the Christian religions owe a great deal for their doctrines to the religion of ancient Iran, and not the Iranian religion to them for any of its doctrines. It would be worth while to quote here some of them:—

62. It also appears to us that the Mazdayasnian author had in view, if not the Gospels, at least the works based upon them. For the course of his argumentation follows pretty nearly that of the doctrine concerning the Λογὸς in the beginning of the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel. There it is inculcated that in the beginning the Λογὸς existed, that he was with God and that he was himself God (verses 1, 2). Everything created was without any exception created by him

---

W. R. Alger, an American author, says in his *Critical History of the Doctrine of Future Life*:—"The charge has repeatedly been urged that the materials of the more recent of the Parsi scriptures...were drawn from Christian...sources. No evidence of value for sustaining such assertions has been adduced. Under the circumstances, scarcely any motive for such an imposition appears. In view of the whole case, the reverse supposition is rather to be credited. In the first place we have ample evidence for the existence of the general Zoroastrian system long anterior to the rise of Christianity. The testimony of the classic authors—to say nothing of the known antiquity of the language in which the system is preserved—is demonstrative on this point. Secondly, *the striking agreement—in regard to fundamental doctrines, pervading spirit, and ritual forms—between the accounts in the classics and those in the Avestean Books, and of both these with the later writings and traditional practices of the Parsees, furnishes powerful presumption that the religion was a connected development, possessing the same essential features from the time of its national establishment.* Thirdly, *we have unquestionable proofs that during the period from the Babylonish captivity to the advent of Christ the Jews borrowed and adopted a great deal from the Persian theology, but no proof that the Persians took anything from the Jewish theology.* This is abundantly confessed by such scholars as Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Stuart, Lücke, de Wette, Neandir; and it will hardly be challenged by any one who has investigated the subject. *But the Jewish theology being thus impregnated with germs from the Persian faith and being in a sense the historic mother of Christian theology, it is far more reasonable in seeking the origin of dogmas common to Parsees and Christians to trace them through the Pharisees to Zoroaster, than to imagine them suddenly foisted upon the former by forgery on the part of the latter at a late period*.....We therefore see no reason for believing that important Christian...ideas have interpolated into the old Zoroastrian religion. The influence has been in the other direction." (See K. R. Kama, *Stray Passages extracted from Alger's Critical History of the Doctrine of Future Life*, pp. 2-5.)

(v. 3). The life and existence was in himself (it was neither communicated nor created); and this life was the light which enlightens men (v. 4, 9). The Λογὸς is the only Son of the Father (v. 14). If we compare these propositions of the first chapter of St. John with the points of the polemic of the *Dinkart*, we shall find that the latter follows almost exactly the same order of ideas.

The late Dr. Martin Haug says in an article contributed to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, ix., ss. 286, pp. 683-692 :— "Judeism after the exile—and, through Judeism, Christianity afterwards—received an important influence from Zoroastrianism, an influence which, in regard to the doctrine of angels, Satan and the resurrection of the dead, cannot be mistaken." (See K. R. Kama, *Stray passages extracted from Alger's Critical History of the Doctrine of Future Life, p.* 6.)

Dr. Edward Röth, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Heidelberg, says in *the Egyptian and the Zoroastrian Doctrines of Faith as the oldest sources of our speculative ideas*: "An exact acquaintance with these two circles of ideas (viz.—the Christian religion and the Grecian philosophy) teaches us, however, that even they again are not at all original, but flow down out of yet more remote sources, and in truth—by a curious coincidence—both from just the very same two common sources: the Egyptian and the Bactro-Persian doctrinal belief. The Christian circle of belief in fact agrees most precisely with the Jewish..... The so-called Jewish doctrine of faith developed itself among the Jews not until after the Babylonian captivity, when Judea was a Persian province, and is found in the later books of the Old Testament and in the Jewish writings a little older than, or contemporaneous with, the books of the New Testament, as well as in the oldest portions of the Talmud. That more ancient form of the Jewish doctrine of faith has its origin, like the entire political and civil organisation of the Jewish nation, in the Egyptian culture; the recent one, on the other hand, in that Bactro-Persian circle of ideas that had spread itself out beyond Persia over the whole of Western Asia, so far as it was subjected to the Persian supremacy. Thus then, at last we have the Egyptian and the Bactro-Persian speculations left to us as the earliest sources, as well of the Grecian as of the Christian circle of ideas, and consequently also of our present-day philosophy. In Egypt and Persia, or properly speaking in Bactria, there was accordingly the cradle of our philosophic culture of the present day, and its development up to its present state must have required a period of time of nearly three and a half thousand years." (See K. R. Kama's English Translation, pp. 19-22).—Tr.]

CHAPTER II.

EVIL.

I.—*The Dualistic System of Mazdeism.*

63. The origin of Evil has been in all ages one of the principal difficulties which different religions have tried to solve. It may also be said that the form given to the solution of this question characterizes the divergences which distinguish them from one another. We need hardly repeat that for the Mazdeism of every age this solution has been sought in Dualism," or in other words in the doctrine of the existence "of two independent, hostile and perfectly opposite principles,—the principle or Spirit of Good and the principle or Spirit of Evil.

64. Quite recently Dr. West attempted to defend Mazdeism from 'the accusation of Dualism, made in good faith by Muhammadan writers and echoed more incautiously by Christians.'[1] Dr. West blames the Parsees themselves for having admitted it, at least as regards their religious doctrines in the Middle Ages. We perfectly agree with Dr. West that it is first of all necessary to determine with great precision what one means by 'Dualism,' in order not to include in its definition most of the religions of the world, not excepting Christianity. But we cannot admit the definition which his reasonings involve, that an omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent or eternal Evil Spirit is necessary for a real Dualism.[2] It is not difficult to show that in Mazdeism these attributes do not belong to the Evil Spirit and even that they are explicity withheld from him. But the foundation of Dualism, in the complete sense of the word, appears to us to be precisely in this, that *there exists a Being, evil by his own*

[1] West, PT., I., p. lxviii-lxix.: also II., p. xxiv.

[2] Ibid. One may remark that even Aûharmazd is not omnipresent, see §§ 34, 35. [See also the translator's note 1, p. 26.]

nature and the author of evil, who does not owe his origin to the Creator of good, but who exists independently of Him. And such is the exact notion of the Mazdayasnian doctrine.[1]

65. Dr. West says that the origin of Aharman is, like his end, 'as uncertain' as that of the Devil (in Jewish and Christian Scriptures). But can he seriously assert that the origin of the Devil—the Fallen Angel—remains doubtful in Christian theology? or that there exists any obscurity as to his final destruction? The fundamental idea of the Devil in the Christian doctrine is that of a creature of God, good in his origin but fallen by his own will. Now it must be really confessed that such a conception does not agree in any way with the description of Aharman in the *Bûn-Dehesh*, i., 3, 5, 9, etc.

66. But yet a more capital difference as will be seen from the interpretation of Dr. West is that Aharman is capable of producing evil spirits and demons (BD., i., 10, 24), and that evil-doing creatures are said to be his (BD., iii., 15; xiv., 30; xviii., 2).[2] He therefore shares with Aûharmazd the power of creation. He creates not only abstract evil, but also living spirits, men and animals. What distinction more decisive than this could one find between such a spirit and the Devil of the Jews a d Christians? It is therefore impossible to agree with Dr. W when he writes:—"If the belief in Aharman, as the auth of evil makes the Parsi religion a Dualism, it is difficult understand why a belief in the Devil, as the author of e does not make Christianity also a Dualism."[3] That the D is considered as more intelligent and more endowed ubiquity[4] than Aharman is nothing to the purpose. T essential characteristics of the Evil Spirit in the Mazda

[1] [This doctrine is quite contrary to the doctrine of the G seems to have sprung from wrongly understanding Ahura Çpento mainyus as one and the same being. See note 1 on

[2] PT., I., p. lxix.

[3] Ibid., p. lxx.

[4] Ibid, p. lxix.

ime,

religion, viz.—(1) his independent origin, and (2) his share in the creation, place him much above the Fallen Angel.[1]

67. We willingly admit that this dualistic system is irreconcilable with a real monotheism. Too much consistence must not however be expected in the Mazdayasnian doctrines. We have already seen other dogmas which come into collision with this monotheism; as for example, Zervanism and the belief in Destiny.[2] We have also seen that from early times the Eranian mind has sought some means of escaping from the difficulties of this Dualiam, and we have already anticipated the solutions devised for this purpose by several schools. It is therefore sufficient for us to sum up briefly what we have already said on this subject.

68. These solutions are grouped generally under two hypothesis—that the two spirits, Aûharmazd and Aharman, have sprung from a single, indifferent, pre-existing source; and that the Evil Spirit proceeds from the Good Spirit by generation or creation. The first is the doctrine of the Zervanists and the second of the Gayomarthiyans.

For the development of the first system we refer the reader to the passages cited in §§ 15 and 16.

The genesis of Aharman in the other system is described as follows in the narration of Shahristani:—

69. "The Gayomarthiyans believe in two principles, *Yazdan*[3] and *Ahriman*, and affirm that Yazdan is without beginning and eternal, but that *Ahriman* has had a beginning and *has been created*. They say that *Yazdan* thought to himself:—'If I had an adversary, how would he be created?' This was an evil thought and was not in harmony with the nature of light, and therefore from this thought the being proceeded and was named *Ahriman*; and evil, corruption, wickedness and malevolence have become

[1] origin of the doctrine of Satan or Fallen Angel in Judeo-Christianity, see p. 49, note.—Tr.]

see § 24.

his nature. Then he revolted against light and by his nature and words contradicted it, and a war burst out between the army of light and the army of darkness."[1]

It is remarkable that in this description the origin of Ahriman is *an evil thought* of Yazdan, just as we have seen his birth attributed to a doubt on the part of Zervan.[2] The doctrine of a Zervanist school mentioned by Shahristani agrees closely with this doctrine.

"Some of the Zervanists say that there is incessantly something evil in God, either an *evil thought* or an evil corruption, and that that evil is the source of Satan. They think that the world was free from evil, corruption and dissensions, and that its inhabitants lived in perfect happiness and in pure pleasure but that no sooner was Ahriman brought forth than evil, corruption and dissensions began to prevail."[3]

70 No discussion as to these questions of origin is found in the Sassanide literature which we possess. On the contrary Aharman is represented therein as having existed from all eternity like Aûharmazd himself. For the *Bûn-Dehesh* says that the latter (Aûharmazd) has been, and is, and always shall be, but as to Aharman on the contrary it says that there shall be a time when he will exist no more.[4] Now, this idea implies that the only difference between these two spirits as to the duration of life will be in the future. It follows that Aharman has existed as long as Ahuramazda, that is to say, from all eternity. The following is the remaining description of the Evil Spirit given in the Bûn-Dehesh:

"Revelation is the explanation of both *spirits;* the one is endowed with the infinite time...(cf. § 11) and Aharman is darkness with backward knowledge (*akhar-dânishnîh*) and

[1] Translated by Haarbrücker, quoted by Spiegel, E A., II., 1[illegible]

[2] See §§ 15, 16.

[3] Spiegel, E A., II., 176.

[4] B D., i., 3., West translates: 'And it is he who will no[illegible] We, prefer the version of Spiegel (TL., p. 95), Windischmann ([illegible]tud., p. 56) and de Harlez (*Manuel du Pehlevi, p.* 211).

desire for destruction was in the abyss and there will be a time when he will not be. And the place of that destruction *(Zatârîh)* and also of that darkness is what they call 'the endless darkness.'[1] Ganâk mînôî on account of his backward knowledge did know nothing about the existence of Aûharmazd. But afterwards he rose from the abyss and came towards the light; and he rushed in to destroy this splendour of Aûharmazd, which he perceived unassailable by the demons on account of their malicious and cruel nature.'[2]

This passage appears to give us a very clear and decisive idea of the dualistic doctrine of the Mazdayasnian religion.

It now remains for us to examine the details relating to the Evil Spirit.[3]

II.—Names, Attributes and Qualities of the Evil Spirit.

71. The two most common names in the Pehlevi literature are those of *Aharman* (*Ahriman*) and *Ganâk-minôî* (*Ganrâk minôî*). Most Eranists, among whom are Spiegel and West,[4] think that these two words are alterations of the same Avestaic form *Anrô mainyus* 'the destroying spirit.' However de Harlez[5] as well as Justi[6] and Destur Peshotun[7] separate the two words and admit the abovementioned etymology only for the form *Aharman*, which is also that of the Sassanian inscriptions (*Aharmanî*). For the other they suggest a root *gan, ghan* = *jan* = 'to strike, to beat, to kill, to destroy.'

---

[1] B D., i., 3.

[2] B D., i., 9, 10.

[3] [The *Bûn-Dehesh* identifies the Good Principle, *Çpenâk-mînôî*, with A[illegible]rmazd, and puts the Evil principle, *Ganâk-mînôî*, in antagonism w[illegible]Him. For explanations of the term Çpenak-minoi, and the theory o[illegible]ism, see notes on pp. 4 and 17.—Tr.]

[illegible]., II., 121, n.; edition of M K., Glossary, p. 83; translation of B L[illegible] 3, 4.

[illegible]duction, p. cxxvii.

[illegible] Glossary, p. 222.

[illegible]ulary to D K., I. s. v. ۴۳

We may remark that the orthography of the latter term is extremely variable. We have *Ganâk-minôi*,[1] *Ganrâk-minôi*,[2] *Ganrâ-mînôi*,[3] *Ganrâg-i mînôi*,[4] *Ganâg-i mînôi*[5] and also *Ganâk* or *Ganâ* quite alone.[6] West objects to the suggested derivation on the ground that the root *gan* has already given a verb in the form *zan*, *zatano*. We might, however, insist upon the same objection being taken to the double derivation of the names *Aharman* and *Ganrâk mînôi* from one and the same Avestaic form. The evident opposition between *Çpenâk-mînôi* = *Çpento-mainyus* and *Gan(r)âk-mînôi* seems to decide in favour of the derivation which traces the last word from the Avestaic *Aŋrô-mainyus*. But even in this case, the first part (*gânrâk*) might probably be a *translation* and not a simple *transcription* of the Avesta *Aŋrô* (the root of which seems to be *aŋh* = *as* = 'to strike, to beat'[7] otherwise how is the initial *g* to be explained ?[8] We must add that there are two forms of the name even in the Avesta: *Aŋrô-mainyus* (𐬀𐬦𐬭𐬹-𐬨𐬌𐬌𐬎) and *Añgrô-mainyus* (𐬀𐬦𐬭𐬹-𐬨𐬌𐬌𐬎), and though the same derivation is assigned to both, yet there are some Eranists, such as de Harlez,[9] who see two distinct words in *Aŋrô* (from the root *aŋh* = *as*) and *Añgrô* (from the root *añg* = ᵃγχ). There is nothing wonderful, therefore, in our meeting with the two parallel forms again in Pehlevi.

---

[1] Vd., xix, 2; BD., i., 9; Patet-i khod, 27. (𐬀𐬌𐬎)

[2] Vd., xix, 16; BD. i., 1, 12, 13, &c., Patet-i khod, 1; AVN., c. (𐬀𐬌𐬎)

[3] MK., ii., 187; xxvii, 35. (𐬀𐬌𐬎)

[4] Vd., xix, 20, 27 (𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎)

[5] Vd., xix, 32 (𐬀𐬌𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬌𐬎)

[6] MK., vii., 9; xxvii. 22; lvii, 26 (گنا) In Dk. we find the Pers. *ghanâ-îk* (گناهیک)

[7] De Harlez, Introduction, p. cxxvii.

[8] West remarks: "A Parsi would probably suggest *gar* 'to stink.'" PT., I. 3, n.

[9] *Langue de l'Avesta*, 2nd ed., p. 264.

72. In any case, it seems to us that the two names of the Evil Spirit have been modelled upon the two forms of the name of God, as we might expect from the systematizing spirit of the Eranians. Thus the name *Aharman* seems to be modelled, if we may so say, on that of *Aûharmazd*, with which it corresponds syllable for syllable. On the other hand, the name of *Ganâk-mînôî* (or *Ganrâk-mînôî*) is evidently opposed to that of *Çpenâk-mînôî*, both in form and sense.[1]

73 What is more embarrassing is that in several passages the *Bûn-Dehesh* appears to distinguish Aharman from *Ganâk-mînôî* in a very precise manner. For example, it teaches that at the end of the world all the good spirits will make a combined attack upon the evil spirits, each of the former seizing (*vâkhdund*) or perhaps killing (*vânend*, as suggested by West)[2] one of the latter ones. Thus Aûharmazd will overpower *Ganrâk-mînôî*. But after that he will restore liberty to two demons—Aharman and Azh (the serpent)[3].

In another chapter there is given a description of Ganâk-mînôî, of his form (which is that of a lizard), of his malice, &c., and it is added that he seduces men and makes them practise the worship of Aharman.[4] The author continues his description of several demons and of their respective occupations, and portrays *Ganâk-mînôî* at full length between Aspenjargâk and Khûndak;[5] and at the end of the chapter he adds: "They, who are enumerated, have a share in the assistance and in the deceitful nature of Aharman."[6]

---

[1] From this one would be tempted to ask whether *Aharman* (*Ahriman*) not perhaps a Semitic form of the form of *gadman*, *yadman*, *regelman*, *nman*, *punman*, &c., derived from *akhar* (Arb. آخر), *akhri* (adj.) nifying 'posterior, last'? There would be an allusion to his infe- ity to Aûharmazd as well as to his slow (backward) knowledge, 'i is often mentioned. It must be added that the last syllable *man* i rds like *Vohûman*, *akôman*, represents *mano* and not *mainyus*.

T. I., 128.

D., xxx., 29.

., xxviii., 1—4.

, xxviii., 39—42.

xxviii., 46.

One is really puzzled in presence of these passages, as West has truly remarked.[1] It is not the case with Aûharmazd and Spenâk-mînôî; because as we have shown before (§ 23) in the Pehlevi books the distinction is no other than that between the person and his soul or spirit. In the present case, the difference seems to be more positive. One may perhaps reply that in one of the passages which we have just quoted the distinction disappears; as after saying that the two demons Azh and Ahraman will be restored to liberty, the author continues: "(Then) Aûharmazd himself comes to the world...holding the *kûstî* (holy girdle); by the *kùsti-formula* Ganrâk-mînôî and Azh (the serpent), will be defeated and will become resourceless and weakened; and by the same way, through which he rushed towards the sky, he will rush to the deep darkness."[2] Now in this passage Ganrâk-mînôî, associated with Azh, cannot be other than Aharman, associated with Azh, in the first part of the same verse.

74. There is a very obscure word which is found in our texts, especially in the *Dinkard*, under the form [illegible].[3] West reads it as *khayêbît* and translates it 'condemnation,' 'destruction,' and adds that the word is often used as the name of a principal demon[4]; thus the *Mainyô-i Khard* says that activity is good in keeping back *aïbigad* and opposition from us.[5] He (West) derives this term from the Semitic (Chald. תובהא), Peshotun reads it *aïb-dat*, and translates it constantly as 'blemish-giver,' and derives it from the Semitic עיב 'blame', 'fault.'[6] But he applies this term especially to Aharman, and even takes it as one of his ordin names. De Harlez is of the same opinion, but his rea

[1] PT., I., pp. 112, 128, n.
[2] BD., xxx., 30.
[3] Dk., II., 101, 2; 73, 3.
[4] MK., *Glossary*, p. 4.
[5] Ibid., ii., 74.
[6] Dk., I. and II., *Glossary*.

is quite different. He reads it *ag-i-dât*, and translates it as 'evil creator,'[1] from *ag*=*agh* = 'sinful', 'evil.' We wonder however whether the frequent term ‹ which, it appears, must be read *aîbî-bût*[2] and which seems to signify 'corrupted', 'deformed,' does not decide in favour of Peshotun, because it would be difficult to explain that term by *ag*. As to the signification of the second word, though Peshotun translates it as an equivalent of the first and as a name of Aharman, yet it seems to be rather the name of one of the inferior demons. We hesitate therefore to recognize it as a new title of the Evil Spirit.

75. As to the qualities of Aharman, we have to notice:—

(i.) His malice.—Whatever be his origin Aharman is of an essentially malicious nature (*arashk guharîh*).[3] There is a perpetual opposition between him and the Good Spirit.[4] For this reason he is always occupied in attacking His creatures and in doing evil to them, as we shall see later on. He is cowardly and cruel, because he scoffs at the wretches who are thrown into hell in his power.[5]

(ii.) His ignorance.—In opposition to Aûharmazd Aharman is ignorant (*afarjânak*) and blind (*avenak*)[6] and possesses a bad or imperfect knowledge (*dûs-âkâçîh*)[7] as contrasted with the omniscience of God. His knowledge, as we have said, is a knowledge after the event (*âkhar-dânîshnîh*)[8] and not a foreknowledge as that of Aûharmazd. He was ignorant at first even of the existence of the latter; he had a knowledge of him

---

Manuel du Pehlevi, p, 325. Cf. *duzdâo*.
Ok., IV. 154, &c.
D., i., 10; MK., x, 7, 8, 10.
K., x, BD., xxviii.
N., c.
I., 19.
I., 84.
., i., 3, 9, &c.

only by accident.[1] Thus Aûharmazd deceived him easily.[2] He was ignorant of the result of his great war with Aûharmazd till the latter revealed to him his future defeat and ruin, which revelation overwhelmed him with despair and dread.[3] And he is still ignorant of the date of the end of the world, and will perceive it only at the time of its approach on account of the signs which will then be accumulated.[4]

(iii.) His timidity.—When Aûharmazd announced to him his future destruction and recited the prayer *Ahunvar,* he was so much confounded and terrified that at the first part of this formula his whole body was contracted through fear (*men bûn tanô yîn avacitô*), at the second part he fell upon his knees, at the third he was reduced to a pitiful state of confusion and impotence, which lasted 3000 years.[5] Later on, after the creation of the righteous Gâyomard, Aharman and his demons were equally confounded. He himself fell in a state of lethargy, to rouse him out from which the archdemons (*kamûrakân*) tried in vain. "Arise, our father!" they cried, "for we will raise up a conflict in the world, the distress and injuries of which shall reach to Aûharmazd and the Ameçhoçpands." Then they exposed to him in detail (*gvît gvît hûshmôrît*) the evil actions which they proposed to do, but such was his fear of the righteous man that he was unable to lift up his head. Finally came the female demon Jêh, who twice recounted to him her evil actions, but in vain.[6] It was only at the third and fourth repetition of the evils which she was going to produce against the good creation, after having excited him by the words, "Rise up, O our father!" that the Evil Spirit found the courage to come out from his miserable state and to

---

[1] BD., i., 9, 10.

[2] BD., i., 13, 15, 17, 19. On the character of Aharman as 'dummer Teufel' (stupid devil) cf. Spiegel, TL., p. 184; West, PT., I., lxix.

[3] BD., i., 21, 22.

[4] Dk., IV., 167.

[5] BD., i., 22.

[6] B.D., iii., 3, 4, 5.

commence his war against the creation of his rival.[1] Even then, on seeing the sky he trembled as a sheep does before a wolf.[2]

76. (iv.) His spirituality.—Although Aharman is *a spirit* like Aûharmazd, yet he can assume a body. We know the history of his subjugation to Tehmurath under the form of a horse.[3] In the *Bûn-Dehesh* his ordinary form is described as the body of a log-like lizard (*vazak*).[4] But when Jêh encouraged and excited him, as we have just seen, he appeared to her, if we accept West's translation, under the form of a young man of fifteen.[5] Ardà-i Virâf on arriving at the deepest hell was likewise able to see the Evil Spirit (*adîk am khadîtûnt Ganrâk-minôi*),[6] although he could not see Aûharmazd,[7] as we have already seen. One might therefore say that a grosser kind of spirituality, if we may use such an expression, than that of Aûharmazd, is attributed to him.[8]

77. (v.) There is nothing astonishing in the fact that Aharman is *finite*, because we have seen that Aûharmazd himself is so[9]: both of them are limited by the intermediate space (*aigshân miyân tôhik*), and also as regards their person. But it is also said that both of them are equally infinite. In the case of Aûharmazd, we have already seen the explanation of this fact (§ 35); it is His omniscience and eternity that obtain for Him this title.[10] But there is no such explanation for Aharman, because these two qualities are expressly denied

---

[1] BD. iii., 7.
[2] Ibid., 12 (Cf. § 101.)
[3] MK., xxvii., 22; cf. Spiegel, TL., p. 317.
[4] BD., xxviii., 1.; iii., 9, according to West.
[5] BD., iii., 9.
[6] AVN., c, 1.
[7] Ibid, ci, 11.
[8] Later on (A.D. 881) complete spirituality and invisibility were ascribed to Aharman; for example, Mânuschihar in the *Dâdestân-i Dînîk* xix., West, PT., II.
[9] BD., i., 5.
[10] BD., i., 6, 7.

him. Perhaps his infinite malice and the 'endless darkness' (*zôfâi açarî târîk*) where he dwells,[1] were taken into consideration.

78. We might notice the following epithets often applied to Aharman: he is called full of death (*pûr-marg*),[2] this being his Avestaic title; destroyer of the world (*gehân marencinîtâr*)[3]; of evil religion (*dûsh-dînî*)[4]; wicked (*darvand*)[5]; the druj *par excellence*[6]; the demon of demons (*shêdâân shedâ*)[7]; evil creator (*dûzdât*)[8]; of evil knowledge (*dûsh dânâk*)[9] and many other similar epithets.

79. Like Aûharmazd he had a dwelling (*jînâk*) from the beginning exactly contrary to that of the Good Spirit. "Aharman was in the abyss (*zôfâî*), in darkness (*târîkîh*), and that place of ruin and darkness is called endlessly dark (*açarî târîk*)."[10] Later on he came out of this abyss in order to attack the splendour of Auharmazd, and it is in the intermediate space that the long war between the two creations takes place. We must not confound this original dwelling of the Evil Spirit with hell,[11] about which we shall speak at the proper time and place.

III.—*Aharman, the Creator of Evil.*

80. But the most distinguishing characteristic of Aharman, which raises him above all other beings except Aûharmazd himself is that he is a *creator*. Whatever is bad in the material as well as in the spiritual sense is his creation. All the demons, even the most powerful and formidable, are his creatures. He

---

[1] BD., I., 5.
[2] AVN., c, 1.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] *Patêt-i-khod*, 27; MK., viii., 10.
[6] Dk., IV., 148, 3.
[7] Vd., xix., 1.
[8] Vd., xix., 2.
[9] Vd., xix., 32.
[10] BD., i, 3.
[11] Spiegel, EA., II., 121.

has created all his creatures in opposition to those of Aûharmazd but *after* them. In this they are inferior to the creatures of the Good Spirit, because they are wanting, if we may so say, in respect of originality. Having seen by accident the glory and splendour of Aûharmazd and being envious of this scene, Aharman rushed back into darkness and immediately formed (*karînît*) many male and female demons (*kabed shedâ va drûj*); these are therefore the creation of the murderous Spirit (*dam-î marencînîtâr.*)[1] Aûharmazd saw this creation of Ganrâk-mînôî (*dâm-î Ganrâk-mînôî*) and found it terrible, stinking, bad and good for nothing.[2] The evil Spirit produced (*yehâbûnt*)[3] first of all falsehood (*mîtokht*) and *Akôman.*[4]

81. We have noticed that the term *dâm* is applied to the evil creation as well as to that of God; and the other verbs are employed in the same sense. There is however a special Pazend verb to designate the creation proceeding from *Aharman,* which is found in the *Maino-i Khard.*[5] It is *vashûdan,* which can be translated as 'to misform, misproduce, deform,' thus combining the ideas of creation and of ruin as Dr West remarks.[6] Indeed, it seems that the authors of this book have felt the difficulty of applying to Aharman the same terms of creation which they applied to Auharmazd.[7] They have specially hesitated to admit of a true creation *ex nihilo,* and have tried to get a clear idea of the evil production of

---

[1] BD., i, 10.

[2] Ibid., 11.

[3] On this verb, see West, PT., I, 9, n.

[4] BD., i., 11.

[5] MK., viii., 4, 10.

[6] MK., *Glossary*, p, 210.

[7] [This distinction is also found in the Avesta. In the first fargard of the Vendidâd the verb *frâ-thwareç* is used for the creation of Aûharmazd and the verb *frâ-keret* for that of Aharman. The latter term contains in itself the ideas both of creation and destruction. The Pehlevi translators of the Vendidâd seem to have marked the difference between these two terms, because they translate the term *frâ-thwareç* by *frâz-barhînîdan* and *frâ-keret* by *frâz-karînîdan*.—Tr.]

Aharman by means of a personal pollution.[1] It is therefore, no more a real creation, but rather a self-emanation. It is doubtful whether this explanation is to be found in the other Pehlevi books, and we can therefore believe with Spiegel[2] that the authors of these books considered the creation of both the spirits as a true creation without any pre-existing matter.

Aharman not only created evil beings but also introduced every species of sickness into the creation of Aûharmzd. He was able to render immortal heroes like Jîm, Fredun and Kaus mortal, though he could not give immortality to his own creatures.[3] He can seduce even the best of the creatures of Aûharmazd to gain them on his side.[4] He can spoil every thing that Aûharmazd has created;[5] for instance, the plants are the creation of Aûharmazd, but Aharman has given them thorns and bark and often the poison which did not exist in them before. Hence the origin of the poisonous plants, as the *bîs* (Napellus Moysis), and the tall hemp (*kand*), which kill those who eat them.[6] Aharman is the only cause of all the diseases which afflict men, and there are 4,333 kinds of them.[7] But it is chiefly moral evil that he brings upon men. He deceives them and leads them to hell through prosperity or adversity, through infidelity, doubt or avarice.[8] He takes pleasure in breeding discord among men.[9] If he deprives a man of his wife, his children, his whole terrestrial wealth, nay even his life, he does not consider it as a great misfortune;

[1] MK., viii., 10.

[2] EA., II., 144.

[3] MK., viii., 24—30.

[4] BD., i., 17.

[5] MK., xxxiv.

[6] BD., xxvii., 1. On the dangerous qualities of the drink (*Hashish*, beng, cf. Skt. *Bhanga*) prepared from hemp in Persia see Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, p. 152.

[7] Dk., IV., 157, 41, 43; 162. But 10,000 according to BD., ix., 4; and 99,999 according to the Avesta, Vd., xxii., 6, (Wester. 2).

[8] MK., xlv., 8.

[9] Ibid., 9.

but if he succeeds in carrying off his soul and in ruining it, he considers it indeed a great wrong that he has done him.[1] We shall have to discuss in our chapter on Ethics the manner in which Aharman seduces man, and the duty of man in the combat which he has to carry on against him.[2] The perpetual war between the two spirits and their respective creations will also be the subject of another part of this essay.[3]

IV.—*The End of Aharman and of Evil.*

82. It now remains for us to say something about the end of the Evil Spirit.

The question is whether Aharman is immortal or not? As we have seen, the testimony of the *Bûn-Dehesh* on this point is not doubtful. Therein Aharman is distinguished from Aûharmazd in the following manner:—*aît mano lâ yehevûnît*.[4] Now, whether we translate these words by 'there shall be a time when he will no more exist,' (§ 73), or like West by 'it is he who will be no more,' the sense is evidently that the Evil Spirit will cease to exist, and that he will be destroyed at the end of the world.[5]

We have similarly seen (§ 73) that after the great attack by the good spirits upon the demons, which will take place at this final crisis, only two spirits, Ganrâk-mînôî and the serpent (*Azh, Mâr*), will be restored to liberty. Then this serpent will be burnt in the melted metal which will be poured out on the earth.[6] This metal will purify the whole earth and also hell.[7] According to another source it seems that although

---

[1] MK., xlvi., 3-5.

[2] Chap. vi., §§ 212-213.

[3] Ibid., §§ 214-216.

[4] BD., i., 3.

[5] [This description of the end of Aharman does not seem to correspond with that given in the Avesta. According to Yt. xiii., 96, Angrômainyus will not perish in the final resurrection, but will become weak and helpless and will obey the Good Spirit.—Tr.]

[6] BD., xxx., 31.

[7] Ibid., 32.

the demons will be destroyed, yet the wicked who are in hell will be purified and saved 'by the fire.'[1] The passage which we quote below seems to offer us yet another doctrine concerning the end of the Evil Spirit, based upon the immortality of an intelligent nature. The following is the transcription and an attempt at translation, as it is written in a very difficult style :—

83. (2.) *Kush(î)tano va marînîtano-i gohar mindavam lâ anâitkârîh-i gohâr, zâk-i lâ shâyet yehevûnto. Barâ gvîtâkîh aîto mindavam men mindavam zakash pavan hamîh kûrîhâ yehevûnto. Zaki pavan gvîtâkîh akârîhi ham tano yehevûnît. Benafshman aîto mano ham-tano kûshtano va akârînîtano. Cigûn tano man gvîtâkîh-i khayâ-i afash râi anâitîh barâ akârîh, aîtuno vashûf yâitunand.*[2] *Ganâk-mînôi frashkereto avgâm, hamâk kûtâk afzâr, benafshman akômak, hanjâmîhâ pavan anûyâftano-i mindavamca bîhar val benafshman bûrtano, men zak-i patash jûmbâçtano*[3] *mehim kûshito, va pûr bûrto lakhvâr, avbash anaiyârîh va anaiyâdîh*[4] *karto, lakhvâr val garîstak*[5] *afash val dâm*[6] *shakrûnito,*[7] *ramîtûnt-(ano) frôto, kûshishito.*[8] *Aîto men dîno pîtâk* :

(3.) *Tûcâ vîspâ Ahurâ thwahmi mazdâ khshathrôi â vôyathrâ.*

(4.) *Zak-ca pavan harviçpo Aûharmazd pavan hanâ-i lak khûtâîh frôto kûshîto*[9] *(Ganâk-mînôi pavan harviçpo vanâçkârîh).*

(5.) *Va Zandîk mano Aharman târ pavan farjâm val kûn ziveshni men rôshanîh virâçto, va ramîtûntano payatak*[10] *pavan*

---

[1] Dk. III., 114.

[2] Reading אזדוי ש אסמי instead of אד אזדוי ש אסמי

[3] Cf. Pers *jumbidan* = to move.

[4] Cf. Pers. *yâd* = memory.

[5] Cf. Avesta *gârez*, Pers. *ghurzîdan*. (Spiegel, AEG., p. 152)

[6] Cf. Pers. *dâm* = fetters.

[7] Peshotun quotes the Semitic סכך, סגר = inclose.

[8] Cf. Pers. *kûshish* = endeavour, exhaustion, fatigue.

[9] In Spiegel's Yaç., xxxiv., 10, Pehl. translation, there is *kûshto*.

[10] Cf. Pers. *payâdâh* = standing, walking on foot,

zâmînîtano-i târ, men rôshanîh aiva-kôçto, ham çâmânîhâ val tarîno ham koçto roshano. Ash kam rôshano beshîtârtar karto, va çtavar daçto çarîtar pavan akanârâno karto. Val nefshman hâm pîrâmûno[1] *parvaçtak*[2] *va khûmbo*[3] *mânâk-i ziveshno yetibûnaçto. Akanâri zakash mehin târ-cijân*[4] *câshîto. Hâm*[5] *kôçto kanâr-homand*[6] *guftô. Pêsh milyâ zakash mehim akanârak tanôîh-i tar pavan hanbêshnîh*[7] *va shûftano. Akhar milyâ zakash mehim akanârak dâm kanârak-homand zîvêshno.*[8] *Parvaçtano pavan yehevûntano lá shayito, avînkharto yehevûnît.*

84. "(2) Striking or killing the essence of a thing is not the annihilation of the essence; this is impossible. It is (simply) the separation of a thing from the other with which it worked in common. It is that which happens in the dissolution, of the body, (which is its) inaction. That is (only) what is to kill the compound or to reduce it incapable. As the body, by the separation of the soul and on account of that only, (is reduced to) annihilation or incapability, so on the arrival of *Frashkereto* (renovation of the world at the end of the time) Gânak-mînôî will undergo destruction; all his means are cut off (*lit.* 'small'), he is in himself without (more power to) wish, reduced to no more power to attain anything, (having) his lot to support himself, deprived (of the means) to rise up again, thrown completely back (to the bottom), and thereby without resource and without memory, besides shut up in lamentation and in chains, fallen, exhausted. This is declared in the religion.

---

[1] Corrected from *pîrîmûno*.

[2] Peshotun derives it from the Avestaic *pairî-baçta*, and compares it with Pers. *Paivaçtak*, which rather is *patvaçtano* in Pehlevi.

[3] Cf. Pers. *khûftan* = to hide, conceal. Perhaps it ought to be read *nihumb*.

[4] From *sij* = perishable, perished.

[5] Probably for *ham*.

[6] Corrected from *homnand*.

[7] *Bêshnîh*, cf. *bêshîtâr* above.

[8] Unless it should be corrected to *zîndagâno* (Pers. *zindagâni* = duration of life), which seems to be indicated by the sign (ˆ) over ɔ.

"(3) *Tâcâ vîçpâ*, etc.[1] that is to say:

"(4) And that in everything, O Aûharmazd! by this thy sovereignty beat down,[2] (that is to say, Ganâk-mînôî with all his criminality).

"(5) And the schismatic,[3] who (was in) the darkness of Aharman, will, on the arrival of the future life, be adorned with light; and those who were thrown far away (?) by the diffusion[4] of darkness, having light only from one side, will suitably have light from both sides. And (also) a small light will be very tormenting for him and a very strong, formidable hand will be placed (on him) by the immortals. (Aharman) by himself, having around him a wall and a narrow place for his life, will be seated. The *infinity* of the wretches of darkness is revealed. Their punishment is called *finite*. The first word refers to the infinite extent of the darkness with its punishment and its depth. The other term refers to the finite duration of this infinite prison. It is not possible to restrict him as to his essence, (but) he will be blind of knowledge."[5]

85. If we have understood this very difficult chapter correctly, it seems to us that the author wishes to prove: (i) That it is impossible that Aharman should be destroyed, because nature (soul) does not perish (ii) that his destruction must be understood in the sense of the death of the human compound, that is to say, as a man is supposed to die when his soul and his body are separated, although the

---

[1] Yaç. xxxiv, 10. "And all these things, O Ahura Mazda! are conducing to thy realm." Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, p. 332.

[2] The Pehlevi translation, according to Spiegel's texts, *Avesta übersetzt*, II., 133, has understood *â vôyathrâ* as 'to drive away,' which seems to be impossible.

[3] The term *Zandîk* is specially applied to the Mânicheans. Spiegel, EA., II., 223.

[4] Perhaps causative from *Zam* = *jam* = to come, to arrive (?).

[5] [This description of the end of Aharman at the resurrection rather seems to correspond with, and to be a development of, that in the Yasht xix., 96, for which see p. 64, note 5.—Tr.]

soul does not die: it is rather an inactivity and torpor of the being; (iii) that at the end the Evil Spirit will be destroyed in this way that his whole creation will be separated from him, and he will remain alone, motionless, desireless, devoid of memory, a prisoner during the whole eternity. Evil will perish, but not the Evil Spirit: this will be like the separation of the soul and body; (iv.) that one can say that he is limited or mortal, because the infernal region will have an end; but one can also say that he is immortal, because his existence itself (the soul of the compound) will never perish.

It will be seen that the author here combats the doctrine inculcated in the *Bûn-Dehesh*, basing himself on the immortality of the soul. Is it not possible that we have again some traces of the influence of Christian doctrines?[1]

86. It is evident, therefore, that the Mazdayasnian schools of the Sassanide period did not always agree on the questions connected with the origin and the final destiny of Evil. These differences have been perpetuated, because they are formally mentioned again in that small work of later date, *Ulemâ-i islâm*. It cites some five different opinions[2]; and at the end of his book the author admits: "There is a veil over Evil, which should not exist and yet exists. We cannot comprehend it by our knowledge. But as *it is a work of God*, we must therefore leave it to God, and do what he commands and avoid what he forbids."[3]

This is a theory quite contrary to the spirit of the Mazdayasnian religion. It seems to us very doubtful that such opinions could have existed before the Arab conquest.

---

[1] [The description of the end of Aharman in the *Avesta* is itself based upon the immortality of the soul, because it is clearly said in Yt. xix., 96, that *Aharman will not be totally destroyed at the resurrection, but will become very weak and annihilated and will obey his opponent.* That shows that the description of the end of Aharman in the *Dinkart* is not influenced by Christian doctrines, but is based upon, and is a development of, the original doctrine of the Avesta.—Tr.]

[2] UI., p. 4-5, Vullers' translation, p. 52.

[3] Ibid., p. 10, Vullers' translation, p. 67.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPIRITS.

I—Distinction between the Material and the Spiritual World.

87. Along with dualism in the notion of good and evil, Mazdeism has also always scrupulously maintained a sort of dualism of the spiritual beings and the material ones.[1] In this symmetry we again meet with the innate tendency of the Eranian mind to systematization, of which we have already had so many proofs. This symmetry appears in both the evil as well as the good creation.

One is induced to think that the Eranians had not a very precise idea of spirituality. We have already remarked that the principal element seems to be invisibility; but opinions agree very little also on this point. Here is the explanation of the *Dinkart*, which distinguishes three kinds of beings *(aîtôân)* :—

88. "*Aîtôân aînyôk denman ca çe. Aivak zak mano khûtîh amarg, afash patmôcano açânishnîh. Va aivak zak mano khûtîh marg-homand, afash patmôcano vanûçanishno. Men avînishînk çtîhano Amarçpendâno, mano Yazdâno khûtîh, amarg. Va men vînishnîk çtihano, khorshêt manosh amarg aîto çtî khûtîh, açânishnîh patmôcano aîto.*"[1]

"There are these three kinds of beings: the first comprises those whose nature is immortal and whose garment is impassible (*lit.* in repose). And another, those whose nature is mortal and garment passible (*lit.* susceptible of injury). To the invisible creation belong the Ameshoçpands who have the immortal nature of God. And in the visible creation there is the sun, whose nature, (though) material, is immortal and whose garment is impassible."

---

[1] See this kind of parallelism represented in a graphic manner in the curious table (*nakhsh*) attributed to Destur Âdarbâd in the *Dinkart*, IV., 137, 23.

Dk., I. 51, 2, 3, 4, 6.

89. Here, immortality is openly distinguished from spirituality, because the sun, who is said to be an immortal being, is however only material; and the good spirits are said to be participating in the nature of God, because they belong to the invisible world (*avînishnîk çtihâno*).[1]

The last term is very remarkable, as although etymologically *çtîh* signifies simply 'creation,' yet it is strictly employed in Pehlevi to indicate the material world in opposition to Mînôî (*Maînyo*), which designates the spiritual world.[2]

90. There is a spiritual world even in the evil creation; but we see that an endeavour is made to introduce into it a kind of inferiority as compared with the spiritual world of Aûharmazd. Thus, in the vision of Ardâ-i Virâf, Çrosh and Âtaro promise to show him the reality (*âitîh*) of God and the Ameshoçpands and the non-reality (*lôîtîh*) of Aharman and the demons.[3] Evidently we cannot take these terms *âîtîh* and *lôîtîh* very literally: to deny the real objective existence of the Evil Spirit and his creatures would be to overthrow the whole system of the Mazdayasnian religion. One must see therein an expression of the inferiority of nature of the one creation as compared with the other.

II.—Origin of the Good and Evil Spirits.

91. In order to expound the theories relating to the spirits of each of the two creations, it will be necessary to anticipate partly the Mazdayasnian cosmogony, as the spiritual worlds form the first stage in this history. We have already seen from the *Bûn-Dehesh* the original constitution in which the two primordial spirits of Good and Evil are found. "Aûharmazd," the author continues, "by his omniscience knew the existence of Aharman and his projects. He knew that

[1] One may compare SlS, xv., 3, where Aûharmazd and the Ameshoçpands are called the intangible and invisible beings.

[2] The Avesta, however, distinguishes between the *Mainyavi çti* and the *Gaéthya çti*. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 148.

[3] AVN., v., 11.

in his desire for injury he would produce confusion (*yîn gûmîjît*)[1] till the completion (of things). He also knew by what means the completion would take place." Then in a spiritual manner he created the creation which was necessary for these means. During three thousand years it (the creation) was in a spiritual state, so that it was immutable, unchangeable, and its body was intangible.[2]

This passage offers certain difficulties. What is this 'spiritual state' in which the creation was plunged for three thousand years? West explains it as 'a preparatory creation of embryonic and immaterial existences, the prototypes, Fravashis, spiritual counterparts, or guardian angels of the spiritual and material creatures afterwards produced.'[3] Spiegel and Windischmann understand this as a creation existing at first in heaven, and which was afterwards let down (herabgelassen) into space.'[4] As to the three epithets, West reads the first term as *aminûtâr* and translates it 'unthinking.'[5] Windischmann and Justi, on the contrary reading the term as *amûitâr*, translate it 'invulnerable,' and they take for their basis the Avestaic term *amuyamna*[6] with which it seems to correspond. We have followed the version of Professor de Harlez.[7] But if one accepts either of these last interpretations, he cannot agree with that of West. Indeed how can we imagine spirits (*mînôî*) who exist without thinking (*mînîtano*)? This would be a contradiction in terms even to the Eranian mind. We might ask whether this passage does not simply signify that Aûharmazd first of all created the world of the spirits, the Ameshoçpands and the Yazds and

---

[1] We follow the version of M. de Harlez, (*Manuel du Pehlevi*, p. 320), which is justified by the technical term *gûmîjishnîh* in BD., i., 17.

[2] BD., i., 8; also xxxiv., 1.

[3] PT. I., 5, n.

[4] Spiegel, EA., I., 503. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 57.

[5] In accordance with the MS. M6 in chap. xxxiv., 1.

[6] See Yt. xiii., 35, 133; xvii., 17; xix., 75.

[7] Who compares it with Lat. *movere*.

the other beings mentioned at the end of the first chapter?[1] These spirits then existed without being attacked by the Evil Spirit, who became acquainted with them only afterwards. The spirits also did not move (*arevâ*) from their shining residence to enter the intermediate space where the war between the two creations subsequently took place.

But at last Aharman happens to see the light and splendour of Aûharmazd, and disturbed by this splendour, he fled back into the darkness. There he 'formed (*karînît*) many demons and drujs, a murderous creation.'[2] Aûharmazd saw these creatures of Ganâk-mînôî, and found them 'a frightful, stinking, and evil creation, which he did not consider to be of any value."[3]

92. Such is, therefore, the origin of the spiritual creation on either side according to the narrative of the *Bûn-Dehesh*. We see that the Evil Spirit produced his creatures after and in opposition to those of Aûharmazd. If it is said that Aûharmazd has created his creatures for the confusion of Aharman (*pavan çtarîh-i Aharman*),[4] it must refer to the divine foreknowledge of the combat which was to happen.[5] It now remains to see what were the spirits thus produced.

III.—The Good Spirits.

(i.)—VOHÛMAN.

93. As we have seen before, *Vohûman* was the first of the creatures of Aûharmazd.[6] God made use of his assistance in the development of the other creatures. This position gives him superiority over other beings. It is he who produced

---

[1] BD., i., 23, 27.

[2] Ibid., 10.

[3] Ibid., 11.

[4] Ibid., 23. This verse is not the continuation of the narrative in verse 22, but it agrees with v. 8. The narrative is resumed in order to enter into details. It is, perhaps, a new genealogy like that of the chap. II., and several documents may have been combined in the narrative.

[5] BD., i., 8.

[6] Ibid., 23; Dk., I., 40, 3, etc.

later on the light of the world (*çtîk roshanîh*), with which was the good Mazdayasnian Law (Dîn-i shapîr-i M.).[1]

Commenting upon this passage, Dr. West rightly says that 'the position here ascribed to *Vohûman*, or the good thought of Aûharmazd, bears some resemblance to that of the Word in John i. 1—5.'[2] And indeed we have seen that there was very probably a Mazdayasnian school which wished to identify him with the Λογός (§ 60). But it is equally true that in orthodox Mazdeism Vohûman essentially differs from him in this that he is only a creature. One is surprised at the resemblance between many traits of *Vohûman* and those of Wisdom, of which we have spoken in the first chapter. It is not always easy to get a precise idea of the relations of the one to the other. In the Avesta there is mention of the wisdom (*khratus*) of *Vohûman*, and the tradition explains it as *Açno-khart*. In the *Dinkart* also it is said that the *Açno-khart* and the good religion (*shapîr dino*) and the virtuous incarnation of *Açno-khart* (*kerfâni hûnarâvad-i Açno-khart*) are born together (*ham-zâk*).[3] Subsequently it seems that this *incarnation* is explained as being *Vohûman* himself, because it is elsewhere said "And *Açno-khart* and also his virtuous incarnation, *Vohûman*, are begotten of the Çpenak-mînôi" (*va Açno-khart afash kerfâno hûnarâno Vohûman Çpenâk mînôi zâk*). Here the good religion, which, according to the *Bûn-Dehesh*, has been produced by *Vohûman*, is born *with* him. Therefore these three ideas—*Wisdom*, *Vohûman* and *Religion*—form one group, the exact relations of the elements of which it is difficult to determine.

94. *Vohûman* seats in heaven on a throne of gold.[4]

As for men, *Vohûman* is the protector (*pâtârak*) of their conscience and intellect (*hosh va khart*).[5] He also gives

[1] BD., i, 25.
[2] PT., I., 9, n.
[3] DK., III., 122, 2.
[4] AVN., xi., 1. So in the Avesta: Vd. xix., 102 (Wester. 31).
[5] DK., III., 116.

them wisdom.[1] He aids Tishtar in pouring down the rain water on the earth.[2] He is also the special protector of cattle, and he is pleased when men take care of the flocks.[3] The cock is his favourite bird[4] and the white jasamin (*çaman*) is his flower.[5] In the last combat, which will close the war between the two creations, it is he who will seize Akoman, his special adversary among the demons.[6]

(ii.)—The Other Ameshoçpands.

95. So far we have considered *Vohûman* in the unique position which he occupies as the first creature of Aûharmazd and as His principal agent in the development and growth of the whole creation. But he has also his place in a special group of the good spirits, the Ameshoçpands, of whom he is the principal and the chief.

These spirits form again, as in the Avesta, a group intimately connected with the Creator, though, perhaps, there is no longer a very clear distinction between them and the other spirits. The latter are raised to a position scarcely inferior to that of the former; and we see them pell-mell together.[7] We have neither to discuss here the origin nor the Avestaic character of the *Ameshaçpentas*, for which we refer to the work of Professor de Harlez (*Origines du Zoroastrisme*, pp. 43-74). In the Sassanide time, both these characteristic Eranian spirits and the other Yazatas of every kind form the spiritual court of Aûharmazd, which differs

---

[1] SlS., xxii., 2.

[2] BD., vii., 3; ZS., vi., 3.

[3] SlS., xv., 5, 9-11.

[4] Ibid., x., 9.

[5] BD., xxvii., 24.

[6] BD., xxx., 29. [In Yt. xix., 96, it is also said that Vohûmano will destroy Akemmano.—Tr.]

[7] In the BD., xxii., 24, all the spirits to whom the days of the month are dedicated are called Ameshoçpands. In SlS., xxii., 14, *Gôshûrvan* is called an Ameshoçpand. Çrosh is raised to an analogous position to that of the Ameshoçpands (cf. BD., xxx., 29). For Wisdom as an Ameshoçpand, see chap. I., § 50.

scarcely in anything from the angelic hierarchies of the Christian theology. Thus there are some, like Dr. West and others, who prefer to translate the names Ameshoçpands and Yazds by 'archangels' and 'angels', though we cannot approve this incorrect usage.

96. The name of the former set of angels occurs under the form of *Ameshoçpands*, or more rarely under that of *Amârâspands*. A list of them is often given. Sometimes we see mentioned therein seven Ameshoçpands, Aûharmazd himself being reckoned in the number; then Vohûman, Artavahisht, Shatvaîrio, Çpendârmat, Horvadat and Amerôdat.[1] But generally Aûharmazd is clearly distinguished from them: he is the only being who is independent (*amihânak*),[2] and for that reason he is above other creatures who are dependent, among whom are firstly the Ameshoçpands, just like the inferior beings,[3] for Aûharmazd has created them by his wisdom.[4] They were among his first creatures, for after having created Vohûman and produced the light of the world and the good religion, Aûharmazd created Artavahisht, Shatvaîrio, Çpendarmat, Horvadat and Amerôdat.[5]

97. They are said to be males and females,[6] since among the number there is the female spirit Çpendârmat. A description is given of their qualities, of the creatures (*dâjak*) which each of them has formed as his earthly representatives, of the benefits which each procures for men, of the flowers which are dedicated to each of them, and of the special adversary among the demons whom each shall have to crush in the final battle.[7]

---

[1] SIS., xv., 3, 4.
[2] For this term see § 34.
[3] Dk. II., 91.
[4] MK., lvii., 5; cf. § 51.
[5] BD., i., 26.
[6] BY. ii., 64.
[7] SIS., xxiii., xv., xxii.; BD., xxvii., 24; xxx, 29.

(iii.)—The Yazds.

98. In the Avestaic system the Yazatas are spirits of an inferior rank to the Ameshaçpentas. In Sassanian Parseeism the distinction between the two classes is little more than nominal. The name of Yazds is used in a very general manner to signify all good spirits, like that of 'angels' in the Christian theology. Even Aûharmazd and all the good spirits are called 'all the Yazdân of the heaven and earth.'[1]

99. The Yazds play the intermediary part between the Diety and man. They spread benedictions like Aûharmazd and the Ameshoçpands and like the spirits of the blessed in heaven.[2] With the Ameshoçpands they assist in the distribution of rain on the earth.[3] Their duty is to develop and increase the creation and to fight against Evil: it is for this very reason that Aûharmazd has created them in a great number (*kabed Yazdân*) "in order to keep watch over the heaven and the earth, the blowing of the winds, the flowing of the waters, the growth of the trees, and the life and nourishment of cattle and men, and also to protect the material worlds against the creation of the murderous demons" (*val vînûrishno-i açmâno va damîk, va vâto vâdishno va mayû tacishno, va hûrvar vakhshishno, va goçpand va anshûtû yehevûnishno va fravarishno: afash val pânakîh-i çtîh dahishnâno men dûm marencînîtârâno shêdâno*).[4]

100. Their beneficent action extends also to spiritual things, the good religion and its adherents. For this purpose they must be assisted by the practice of the good worship (*veh yajishno*) and the recitation of the liturgical prayers (*husmôrishno*), as the demons are thereby defeated.[5] It is again by the explanation of the law that man is made expert

---

[1] ZS., i., o. The phrase is a modern one and belongs to Zad Sparam himself (A.D. 881).

[2] AVN., iii., 8—11.

[3] Dk., III., 112.

[4] Dk., III., 125.

[5] Ibid.

in intelligence, and that the power of the Yazds is exerted in the battle against the Drujs, and the deliverance of the body and soul and hence the power of directing the rest of the material world, are brought about (*men dîno nakîzo dûto shnâç martûm pavan nîrûk, va patûkîh zak-i Yazdân yîn kôshîshno-i levatman drûjo va bôcishno-i tano va rubâno, afash tûbâno mehim râçinîtano-i afânîk çtîh dahishno*).[1] Aûharmazd has placed the prosperity of man in the hands of the Yazds (*men dâtâr andâjishno martum mehim Yazdân râçinitârîh âîto yehebânto va nîrûkînîto*).[2]

(iv) The Primordial War of the Spirits.

101. The Yazds form the army of Aûharmazd against the evil spirits. In the beginning of things, there was a great war in the heavens; it is related in five chapters in the *Bûn-Dehesh*. We cannot enter here into the question of the origin of the remarkable tradition of these "Gotterkämpfe" (combats of the gods)[3] as Spiegel calls them; but we may note the striking analogies with the celebrated war of the evil spirits against the sky in the Babylonian traditions. Instigated by Jêh, the Evil Spirit conducted his allied (*ham-dast*)[4] demons against the sky, of which he penetrated the third part.[5] It was at noon in the month of June of the vernal equinox.[6] But on seeing the sky this cowardly spirit was frightened like a sheep before a wolf.[7] Because the

---

[1] Dk., II, 77, 2.

[2] Dk., II., 77, 2.

[3] EA., II., 212.

[4] West translates the term *ham-dast* as 'confederate,' See PT., I., p. 15, n.

[5] BD., iii., 10, 11; ZS., iv., 1.

[6] BD., iii., 12.

[7] BD., iii., 12; ZS., ii., 2. It is curious that West translates this passage: "Thereby the sky was as shattered and frightened by him as a sheep by a wolf," It is, indeed, quite conformable to the character of Aharman to appear timid and cowardly (cf. § 75) and that he was terrified at the sight of the sky (Cf. de Harlez, *Origines*, p. 162). However it seems to us that in ZS., ii., 2, the passage must be translated: "He sees the sky, and according to his nature he (Aharman) fears as much as a sheep fears a wolf," which is just contrary to the version of West.

spirit of the sky (*mîno-i açmân*), according to West,[1] (or, perhaps, the spiritual sky)[2] put on arms like a warrior; and Aûharmazd made a rampart *(drupûshtîh)* round the sky. stronger than the sky itself.[3] Elsewhere 'the second rampart' is called 'the righteous forethought' (*ashôk âkâçîh*).[4] The Fravâhars, as numerous as the hair on the head, gathered round on horseback with lances in their hands.[5] The demons, being unable to penetrate, precipitated themselves from the sky to the earth.[6] They however found the gate of their former abyss closed against them.[7] It seems that since then Aharman and his demons have been obliged to remain in this visible world,[8] where the combat lasts for ever.

102. In the subsequent stages of the great war, Aharman and his army successively attacked the different parts of the creation in the same order in which they were created; first of all, the water, whose principal protector is Tishtar (Tîr)[9]; then the earth, in which they produced the mountains[10]; then the plants[11]; then the primeval ox;[12] then the primitive man, Gayômard;[13] and lastly, the fire.[14]

This primeval war is ever continued under the command of the Creator (*men Dâtâr farmâno*). The Yazds are occupied in fighting against and driving out (*vânîtano va barâ*

---

[1] PT., I., 25.
[2] Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 67. Cf. Spiegel, EA., II., 10.
[3] BD., vi, 2.
[4] ZS., v, 2.
[5] BD., vi., 3.
[6] BD., vi., 4; iii., 11.
[7] ZS., v., 3; cf. ii., 4; BD., vi., 4.
[8] Spiegel, EA. II., 121.
[9] BD., vii.; ZS, vi.
[10] Ibid., viii.; Ibid., vii.
[11] Ibid., ix.; Ibid., viii.
[12] BD., x.; ZS., ix.
[13] ZS., x.
[14] Ibid., xi.

bûrtano) every evil and all the oppositions of innumerable kinds which proceed from all sides (*patyârak men amarkâno aivôcak aîvak mato*).[1]

(v.)—The Principal Yazds.

103. It would be impossible to give here a complete description of each of the numerous Yazds. We can speak only about the principal ones.

a.—Genii of the Last Things.

A very important group is composed of the Yazds who are placed in charge of the dead; these are *Mitro*, *Çrôsh* and *Rushnu*.

The Sassanian *Mitro* (*Mihir*) has no longer the same importance as the *Mithra* of the Avesta and bears very few traces of his Aryan origin. With *Çrosh*, the spirit of obedience to the law (religion), and *Rashnu*, the spirit of rectitude, *Mitro* stands near the Cinvat Bridge to weigh the actions of the man just deceased and to make him pass the bridge or not to pass it according to his merits.[2] These three Yazds are called *Miazhi*,[3] which term is translated by West 'in mediation.'[4] It is however certain that the idea of mediation never existed in Mazdeism. The phrase signifies nothing more than 'intervening between, not as a mediator but as a judge pronouncing the sentence, giving up the sinful to punishment and preserving from the attacks of the demons the righteous, who need no mediation to obtain heaven.'[5] This is evident from the following verses[6]:—

104. Of the three funeral spirits, *Rashno* is specially entrusted with the weighing of the merits of the dead: "He

---

[1] Dk., I., 44.

[2] MK., ii., 118; AVN., v.

[3] MK., ii., 118.

[4] MK., p. 133, and *Glossary*, p. 139. Spiegel translates this term '*Vermittler*' (mediator), TL., II., 138.

[5] De Harlez, *Introduction*, pp. xcix.—c., where the question is discussed at length.

[6] See MK., ii., 119, sqq.

makes no unjust balance of the spirits on either side, neither for the pious nor for the wicked, neither for lords nor for rulers; he varies not even as much as a hair's breadth and he shows no favour; he treats the sovereign and the ruler on an equal footing with the humblest."[1] The balance *(tarâzûk)* which he holds in his hands is of yellow gold.[2]

105. The duty of *Çrôsh* is to assist the righteous in passing the Cinvat Bridge.[3] It was he who with Âtaro conducted Ardâ-i Virâf through hell and heaven and explained to him all the scenes which he saw there.[4] For invoking these Yazds the following prayer is recited:—"May *Mitro* be thy judge; may not *Çrôsh*, the righteous, seize thee as unjust; may *Rashno* conduct thee to the resplendent heaven!"[5]

106. *Çrôsh* has some attributes in the present world. He protects the world during the darkness of night from demons and sorcerers; for this purpose the cock and the dog are specially consecrated to him.[6] At the time of the end of the world he will have also a very important place. Among the Yazds he is the only one who is mentioned with Aûharmazd and the Ameshoçpands as an adversary and destroyer of one of the principal demons, *Aêshm* or *Khashm*, the demon of wrath, who will oppose him.[7] And after this battle when Aûharmazd himself will come into this world as pontiff *(Zôta)* to complete the destruction of Evil, it is *Çrôsh* who will accompany him as assistant priest *(râspî)*.[8]

---

[1] Ibid, 120—122. This is why a person celebrated for his justice is called 'the *Rashno of Cinô*.' BD., xxxi., 3.

[2] AVN., v., 5.

[3] MK., ii., 124.

[4] AVN., passim.

[5] SIS., xxii., 16-18.

[6] BD., xix., 33; GF., ii., 25—26.

[7] BD., xxx., 29. According to BY., iii., 35, it is Mitro who will smite him.

[8] BD., xxx., 30.

107. As these three Yazds—Mitro, Rashno and Çrôsh—play such an important part at the end of human life, it is natural that they have also to perform certain most important duties in the last days of the world. Thus, they will all three assist *Péshyôtanu*, who is destined to smite the demons and to destroy idolatry 'at the end of time.'[1] When the prophet Hôshêdar will command the sun, like Joshua, saying: 'stand still,' it is Mitro who after ten days and nights will give the signal to command him again 'to move on!'[2] And it is Çrôsh assisted by Nêryôsang, who will be sent by God to excite Sâm or Kerêçâsp[3] who has been sleeping for centuries and has to put Azh-i Dahâk to death.[4]

108. There are other Yazds who are often associated with the preceding three as angels of the time of resurrection. These are Vâî the good, Vâhrâm the victorious and Âshtâd, who receive the soul of the deceased person at the Cinvat Bridge,[5] who received Ardâ-i Virâf at the entrance of his pilgrimage to the other world,[6] and who will play a part in the last days of the world.[7] But all of them are auxiliaries of an inferior rank to the three judges of the dead.

All these angels are well known in the Avesta; we need not insist upon their origin.

(*b.*)—*Genii of the Physical World, Abstract Genii, &c.*

109. *Genii of the Physical World.*—Among these there is Açmâno, the personification of the material sky. We have

---

[1] BY., iii., 31-38.

[2] Ibid., 45-49.

[3] [It is very doubtful whether Sâm and Kerêçâsp are the names of one and the same personage. According to the Avesta they are two different persons. In Yaç., ix., 10, Sâm is mentioned as an ancestor of Kerêçâsp, but in Yt., xiii., 61, 136, he is called a descendant of Kerêçâsp. Thus there were two persons of the name of Sâm, of whom one seems to be an ancestor and the other a descendant of Kerêçâsp.—Tr.]

[4] BY., iii., 59-60.

[5] MK., ii., 115.

[6] AVN., v., 3.

[7] BY., iii., 32.

already seen him fighting against the demons and defended by a rampart stronger than himself.[1] Then come Zamyâd,[2] the spirit of the earth, Âbân or Âvân, the personification of water to whom the water-lily is quite naturally dedicated, Khûr or Khûrshêt, the sun, and *Mâh*, the moon.

Tishtar or Tir is probably Sirius and therefore the representative of the stars in general. It is he who is chiefly entrusted with the rain, which he defends from the attack of the demon Apaôsh[3]; it is he who in the beginning caused rain on the earth and thereby produced the ocean which divides the earth into seven *kêshvars*,[4] and now he draws water from the ocean to form it into rain[5] which he pours down again with the seeds of plants upon the earth.[6]

110. *Abstract Genii.*—Arshisang or Art is a female yazd, personifying rectitude, who bestows riches and well-being.[7] Dîno, the religion, the good Mazdayasnian Law, is a very important personage; born with Açno-khart and apparently with Vohûman, according to one system[8]; but according to others formed by the latter.[9] Dîno seems to be 'an abstract being rather than a person' according to the expression of Spiegel.[10] He is ranked among the very numerous spirits who aid Tishtar in producing rain.[11]

111. We must silently pass over a good number of spirits of a certain importance, whose enumeration is of little use for the illustration of philosophical principles. We find very complete lists of them in our authorities.[12]

---

[1] See § 101.
[2] BD., xxvii., 24.
[3] BD., vii.; ix.; ZS., vi.
[4] Ibid., ix.
[5] Ibid., xix., 11; Dk. III., 112.
[6] BD., xxvii., 3; ZS., viii., 1; MK., lxii., 42.
[7] Ibid, xii., 4.
[8] Dk., III., 122.
[9] BD., i., 26.
[10] EA., II., 104.
[11] Dk., III., 112.
[12] BD., xxvii., 23; SIS., xxii., xxiii.

(vi.)—The Fravahars.

112. There are few subjects which present more difficulty, both in the Avestaic system as well as in that of the more recent Mazdeism, than that of the spirits called *fravâhars*, *farôhars*, *fravash* or *frôhars*. The principal embarrassment proceeds from this that the name is applied both to a faculty of the human soul, united with the body during life, and to that faculty detached from the body and leading the independent life of a celestial spirit. It is on account of this double nature, or rather of this double state, that it is necessary for us to treat the *fravâhars* in two distinct chapters.

113. It is not our business to relate here the history of the *fravâhars* of the Avesta, whose double origin and development have been treated in a very complete manner by Professor de Harlez.[1] This learned Eranist has also given a summary with many details of what is said of them in the literature of the period with which we are occupied. He is perfectly justified when he says on this point: "Of all these explanations relating to the nature of the *fravashis* there are not two which agree with each other...Do not all these incongruities evidently show that too much importance is generally attached to the isolated affirmations of the one or the other Parsi book, and that the Mazdayasnian authors trust themselves very often to the inspiration, to the imagination of the moment rather than trouble themselves about an accepted system or real orthodoxy? Must it not be admitted at least that the systems have often varied and that it is very dangerous to affirm that some more modern work reproduces exactly the primitive doctrines?"[2]

114. It therefore remains for us to pass rapidly in review the doctrines concerning these remarkable beings which are found in our Sassanian texts. Let us put aside to begin with

---

[1] Introduction à l'Avesta, pp. cxix-cxxv; *Origines du Zoroastrisme*, pp. 196-210; cf. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 199-201.

[2] *Introduction*, pp. cxxiii., cxxiv.

the passages which speak about the *fravâhar* only asa faculty of the soul. We shall have to speak about this in chapter V.

115. The *farvâhars* existed before the creation of the material world,[1] apparently also with human intellects (*bôi*),—and Aûharmazd consulted them before sending them into men. "Which seems to you the more advantageous, when I shall present you to the world? that you shall contend in a bodily form with the *Druj* and the *Druj* shall perish, and in the end I shall have you prepared again perfect and immortal, and give you back to the material world, and you will be wholly immortal, undecaying, and undisturbed; or that it be always necessary to provide you protection from the Creator of Evil (*agidât*, or *aibigat*)[2]. Thereupon the *fravâhars* of men were unanimous with the omniscient wisdom (*khart harviçp-âkâç*) about their going to the material world, on account of the evil that comes upon them, in the world, from the druj Aharman, and their becoming, at last, again unpersecuted by the adversary, perfect, and immortal, in the future existence, for ever and everlasting."[3]

116. After that, these fravâhars, mounted on war-horses, have taken an active part in the celestial war against the demons.[4] Aûharmazd has shown to the female spirit *Gôshûrvan* the fravâhar of Zaratusht, which was created long before his birth, and thus he consoled her.[5]

Moreover, the *fravâhars* of men, who are not yet born (*azarânotano frôhar*), dwell with Aûharmazd and the Ameshoçpands and the other Yazds in the heaven *Grôtmâno*.[6]

---

[1] [Cf. Yt., xiii., 76.—Tr.]

[2] See § 74 for the term *agidât* or *ailûgat* in this passage.

[3] BD., ii., 10, 11.

[4] Ibid., vi., 3.

[5] Ibid., iv., 4.

[6] Dk., II., 74. 2. [Cf. Vd. xix., 32, and also *Afrîn-i Ardâfravash*, 15 (according to the text published in 1883 by Ervad Tehmuras Dinshâhji Anklesharia of Bombay.)—Tr.]

117. After death the soul of the deceased (considered as a young man) meets a young damsel, extremely beautiful if his actions have been good in his life-time; ugly and abominable if he has lived sinfully.[1] This damsel, in response to his questions, declares to him that she is his own religion (*dîno*) and his actions, good or evil as the case may be.[2] Haug has taken this maiden to be the *fravâhar*, because he says: "that this virgin was believed to exist before the soul entered the body clearly follows from the circumstance of her telling the pious man that her original beauty had been increased by his good works."[3] The testimony of this virgin herself seems to us, however, too formal to allow us to admit this identification. The *fravâhar* is never said to be the *dîno* or religion. But the maiden openly says that she is the personification of the actions, words and thoughts of the man: this is a trait quite strange to the *fravâhar*.[4] Neither do we see that this maiden had existed before the union of the soul and the body. She simply says that in proportion as the man has continued to do good or evil actions, she is rendered more and more beautiful or ugly as the case may be: in other words, he has continually added to the sum of his merits or demerits.

118. It is not necessary, on the other hand, to insist upon the distinction between the *fravâhar* and the soul. This difference appears as clear as day-light when we consider that whilst prayers were offered for the souls of the deceased, the *fravâhars* are invoked and worshipped in the same manner as the Ameshoçpands and the Yazds.[5] The *fravâhars* retain, therefore, very little of the character of the *Manes* which they have in the Avesta.

---

[1] AVN., iv., 18-20; xvii., 12; MK., ii., 125, 126, 167, 168.

[2] AVN., iv., 21-33; xvii., 13-25; MK. ii., 127-139, 168-181.

[3] Ibid., *Introduction*, pp. lxi., lxii.

[4] It is much more probable, as Haug says, that this maiden has suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial Huris. See AVN., *Introd.* p. lxi., n.

[5] SIS., x., 11.

Another change consists in this that we find no longer in the Pehlevi books the *fravâhars* of Aûharmazd and other celestial spirits.[1] On the other hand we still meet with the fravâhars of animals and inanimate objects, as the earth, cattle, trees and waters, and they are mixed up with those of the pious in paradise.[2]

119. In those books, therefore, which we have mentioned just now, the doctrine of the *fravâhars* seems to be much simplified and systematized. We can summarise as follows:— (i) The *fravâhars* are the celestial archetypes and antitypes of material creatures only (and not of the spirits), they have been created in the beginning of things, they exist with Aûharmazd and the spirits till they are united with the material creatures,—a union, however, that is voluntary on their part. (ii) During life the *fravâhar* enters into the human compound as one of the faculties of its being. (iii) They separate themselves again from the compound after death and return to the spirits.

120. It will not be strange to find a quite different doctrine in the *Mainyo-i Khard,*[3] a work of a fatalist and Sabean tendency. According to this book the *frâvahars* are simply stars,—the stars not included in the twelve Zodiacal constellations,[4]—because for every creature of any kind created in the material world, as well for those which are already begotten as for those which are yet unbegotten, for every single body there is a spiritual archetype.[5] But what is more remarkable is this, that the *fravâhars,* at least those of the righteous

---

[1] De Harlez, *Introd.*, p. cxxiv.

[2] AVN., xiv., 15; xv., 13, 14.

[3] See §§ 5, 7, 46, 47.

[4] [Perhaps the author of the Mainyo-i Khard had in view Yt., xiii., 42, where it is mentioned that the *fravashis,* when they become pleased with the invocations offered to them during their sojourn in this world, return secretly to the sky above. But this passage does not say anything to the effect that the *fravashis* or *frôhars* are stars. However, it is evident therefrom that they abide in the starry regions of the lofty heaven. Cf., Ervad Jivanji Jamshedji Mody, *Essay on Frohar,* pp. 54-55.—Tr.]

[5] MK., xlix., 22, 23.

who will appear at the end of the world (*fravash-i frashégard kardâram*) have been formed from the body of Gayômard.[1] These are certainly conceptions foreign and probably new to Mazdeism; besides they are peculiar to the *Mainyo-i Khard*.[2] The other questions relating to the *fravâhars* will be treated later on in their place.[3]

(vii.)—Worship of the Good Spirits.

121. To all these spirits man owes a worship of praise and gratitude (*çtâishno va çpâç*). This worship is performed first by prayers and benedictions. At the commencement of every ceremony and of the consecration of the *Drôn*, it is necessary to invite the Yazds and the Fravâhars.[4] It is not because these spirits have need of this worship for themselves, but it is because they cannot protect men from evil if the latter do not invoke them;[5] very minute details are given for these invocations. Then there are certain offerings and sacrifices which a man must offer them. When one sacrifices a sheep there are exact rules for the division of the parts of the offering amongst several Yazds and Ameshoçpands. Thus the tongue, the jaw and the left eye belong to Hôm, the neck to Ashavahist, the right shoulder to Ardvîsur, the left shoulder to Drûâçp, &c.[6] Eggs, *drôns* and other offerings of food are also offered to the sovereign Moon (Mâh-i-khúdâi) and to the other Yazds. One must neither be niggardly nor estimate too closely the quantity of the presents.[7] One should often go to the fire-temple and perform there the salutation (*nîyâyishno*) of fire with much reverence, because the Ameshoçpands assemble there thrice a day and distribute benedictions to the righteous.[8] At the

---

[1] MK., xxvii., 17.
[2] De Harlez, *Introduction*, p. cxxiv and n.
[3] For example, in chap. V.
[4] SIS., ix., 11.
[5] Ibid., 13; cf. Dk., III., 125.
[6] SIS., xi., 4.
[7] SIS., xii., 8, 9.
[8] Ibid., xx., 1.

end of the world Peshyôtanû and his disciples will honour the Ameshoçpands and Aûharmazd with blessings.[1]

We see that there is no distinction between the worship rendered to Aûharmazd and that rendered to the other spirits.

VI.—*The Evil Spirits.*

122. We can examine these evil beings very rapidly, because, though their names are more numerous than those of the Yazds, yet all of them were created after the Yazds, of whom they are the opposites and, so to say, parodies.

The general name which is applied to these evil creatures is the Avestaic *dêv* (written 𐬛𐬌𐬎), a term which is however almost everywhere replaced by its corresponding Aramaic *shêdâ* (𐡔𐡃𐡃). Even the Sassanian inscriptions employ this name in the plural form *shîdân*. As in the Avesta, the name of *drûj* (𐬛𐬭𐬎)[2] is used for the female dêvs, without the distinction of the sex being scrupulously observed; so also the term *drûj* is often used to signify demon in general.

(i.)—The Six Principal Devs.

123. As the Ameshoçpands hold the first rank among the spirits of Aûharmazd, so there is a group of spirits in the creation of Aharman who are specially opposed to them. It does not appear, however, that these spirits ever had a collective and distinctive name like those of the Ameshoçpands; unless the word *kâmarakân* (𐬐𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬐𐬀𐬀𐬯) which is translated by West as 'arch fiends,' may be considered as such. In the beginning of the *Bûn-Dehesh* they are mentioned as those who tried first of all to awake Aharman from his lethargy;[3] and later on the six demons opposed to the Ameshoçpands are expressly said to be the *kâmarîkân*,[4] 'the

[1] BY., iii., 28, 37.

[2] Sometimes written 𐬛𐬭𐬌𐬎 e.g. in Dk., I., 56, 8.

[3] BD., iii., 2.

[4] Ibid., xxviii., 12.

other demons being only their co-operators and allies.' But in the same chapter, the seven planets and other astronomical beings are equally called *kâmarîkân* ('ring-leaders,' West) of the new demons.[1]

124. The first of the creatures of Aûharmazd is Vohûman, 'the good thought'; so the first of those of Aharman ought to be *Akôman,* 'the evil thought.' We are therefore astonished to read that Ganrâk-minôi produced first *Mitôkht,* the spirit of falsehood, and then *Akôman*[2]; which disarranges the systematical parallelism of which the Mazdayasnians are generally so jealous. This *Mitokht* is afterwards called 'the liar (*drôjan*) of Ganrâk-mînôî'[3] or 'the demon of scepticism' (*drûj gûmânîkîh*).[4] Elsewhere, however, we read that as Vohûman and the good religion and the *Açno-khart* are born together, so *Akôman* and *Varûn* are equally born together with Ganrâk-mînôî. In this difficult passage, it appears to be said that *Akôman* is the incarnation of the vices of *Varûn* (*kerfâno-i ahûkân-i mûtak Varûn Akôman*), in the same manner as Vohûman is said to be the incarnation of the virtues of *Açno-khart.*[5]

125. The *Bûn-Dehesh* sums up the names, qualities and occupations of the six principal demons in the following manner: "The business of *Akôman* is this, that he gave vile thoughts and discord to the creatures. The business of the demon *Andar* is this that he constrains (*afshârd*) the thoughts of the creatures from deeds of virtue, just like a leader (*sirdâr*) who has well-constrained (*khûp afshârto*); and he casts this into the thoughts of men, that it is not necessary to have the sacred shirt and thread girdle. The business of the demon *Sâvar,* that is a leader of the demons, is this, that is, misgovernment, oppressive anarchy, and drunkenness. The business of the demon *Nâikias* (otherwise written

[1] BD., iii., 44.
[2] BD., i., 24.
[3] BD., xxviii., 14.
[4] According to MS. TD.
[5] See § 93.

Nâkahet[1] or *Nâûnghas*[2]) is this, that he gives discontent to the creatures.....The demon *Taprêv* or *Tâirêv*[3] is he who mingles poison with plants and creatures; as it says thus: '*Taprêv* the frustrater and *Zâirik* the maker of poison."[4] Each of these demons is opposed, in the order mentioned above, to one of the Ameshoçpands, as we have shown in § 96. The opposition between their respective actions, however, is not always very striking.

(ii.)—The Other Demons.

126. Among the inferior and auxiliary demons[5] we have to mention first *Aêshma* or *Khashm*,[6] who is intimately connected with *Akôman*. Thus the influence of *Akôman* and *Aêshm* on the human soul is opposed to that of *Vohûman*, and in the case where this influence prevails, the sense and intelligence are disturbed: then the government of the three (*talitâ*), that is to say, a mixed government, is substituted for that of the *one*, that is to say of *Vohûman*.[7] *Aêshm* is the spirit of anger and violence.[8] His instruments (*afzâr*) are the same as those of Mitokht, Taromat and Arashk; it is said that seven powers (*zôr*) have been given to him so that he

---

[1] BD, i., 27.

[2] Ibid., xxx., 29.

[3] Ibid., i., 27.

[4] Ibid., xxviii., 7-11.

[5] Ibid., xxviii., 12.

[6] The name *Aêshma* is Avestaic. In Pazend and Persian it is *Khashm* (خشم) or *Hishm* (هیشم), which is afterwards identified with the Arabic غصة signifying *angor, angustia mentis*.

[7] Dk., III., 116.

[8] As to *Aêshma daêva* = *Asmo-deus* of the book of Tobias, see Windischmann. *Zor. Stud.*, p. 138 and sqq.; Spiegel EA. II., 132; de Cara, *Esame critico del sistemo filologico e linguistico*, p. 329 (Prato, 1884). We must however remark that we meet with the Pehlevi name *Aêsh-mashêdâ* (written as a single word in BD., xxviii., 15), which would suppose as an Avestaic form *Aêshma-daêva*; and according to the theory which is met with in the Hurvârêsh words of simple ideograms, this name would even be pronounced as *Aêshm-dêv*.

may completely destroy the creatures.[1] It is he who mostly causes evil to the creatures of Auharmazd.[2] Just as Çrosh is raised to a position similar to that of the Ameshoçpands, in like manner Aêshm, his adversary, is also brought together with the six principal demons; and at the end of things it is he who shall be vanquished by Çrôsh.[3] Aêshm truly seems to play a predominant part in the introduction of evils in this world, because it is mentioned that he once rushed into the presence of Aharman complaining that Aûharmazd had produced three things in the world which prevented him from doing anything: the Gahambâr feasts, the Myazd feast (of the *drôns*) and the *Khvêtûkdaç* (next-of-kin marriages).[4]

We have already seen that Varûn is supposed to be born with Akôman. He is the demon of evil cupidity.[5] With Akôman and Aêshm he reigns over the hearts of the wicked.[6] He is specially opposed to *Açno-khart*.[7] From what we have seen we may believe that the group of Mitôkht, Varûn and Akôman is opposed, member for member, to the group of Dîno (or the good religion), Khart and Vohûman.

127. There is a long list of different Dêvs in the *Bûn-Dehesh*, but it would be irksome to mention all of them.[8] Among the principal Dêvs we may mention Açto-vîdhât who inflicts death on man, the demon of death.[9] He is sometimes identified with *Vâe-i çaritar* or the evil wind, 'who seizes life.'[10] None can escape from him.[11] He keeps himself ready with Frezhist, Nîzist and Aêshm to seize upon the soul of

---

[1] BD., xxviii., 15.
[2] Ibid., xxviii., 17.
[3] Ibid., xxx., 29.
[4] SIS., xviii., 1-3. (See Justi, in the BD.).
[5] Probably he is *Varênô* of BD., xxviii., 25.
[6] Dk., I., 33.
[7] Dk., III., 109, 4; cf. 122.
[8] BD., xxviii. 37.
[9] GF., ii., 41, sqq.
[10] BD., xxviii., 35; but neither in the Avesta (Vd. V.) nor in the *Mainyo-i Khard* (ii., 115).
[11] MK., xlvii., 8.

the dead before it proceeds to the Cinvat Bridge.[1] Another demon occupied in tormenting the soul after death is Vizaresh.[2] We have already spoken about Jêh (§ 75) as well as about Apaôsh, the demon of drought and enemy of rain (§109). Bushasp is the female spirit of untimely sleep (slothfulness).[3] Besides these "other demons who are furies (*khashmakân*) are very numerous. They are demons of ruin, pain, old age (*zuârân*), producers of vexation and bile, revivers of grief, the progeny of gloom, bringers of stench, decay and vileness, who are many, very numerous, and very notorious; and a portion of all of them is mingled in the bodies of men, and their characteristics are glaring in mankind."[4] These evil spirits are so numerous that new demons arise from each new sin.[5] Among others there is the White Demon (*Shêdâ Çpîh*), who is the Demon of Christianity,[6] called '*the Rûman Shedâ-çpîh of Kilisyûkîh*' (ἐκκλησιαστική).[7]

We find very little about the *pairik* (Parsi *Fâryân*), the *patrika* of the Avesta and the modern *peri*, demoness or sorceress.[8]

(iii.)—Questions relating to the Demons.

128. We have already seen how Aharman has created or produced (*vashûd*) the demons by a kind of emanation from himself (§ 80). From this fact Spiegel deduces the answer to very interesting questions, viz., whether the evil beings have *fravâhars* or *fravashis* like the creatures of Aûharmazd. The doctrine of the *Mainyo-i Khard* on this emanation appears to exclude the possibility of it[9]; however, there is no trace of it in our texts.

---

[1] MK., ii., 115.
[2] Ibid., 161-164. [Cf. Vd. xix., 29.—Tr.]
[3] BD., xxviii., 26.
[4] Ibid., xxviii., 37, 38.
[5] Ibid., 43.
[6] BY., iii., 3; cf. West, PT. I, p. 215, n.
[7] Ibid., 8; cf. West, PT., I, p. 200, n.
[8] The *pairiks* are mentioned in MK., xlix., 13, 16; lvii., 28.
[9] Spiegel, EA., II., 145.

Another question not less important is that concerning the end of the demons. A passage of the *Dinkard* expressly shows that it is revealed that not only the wicked but also the demons themselves will be saved at the time of the end of the world (*pîtâk aîgh shêdâc levatman gîrâno vanâsîh afdûm men zak ahûo val bôcîshno yâmtûnit*).[1] However, we have quoted above another chapter of the *Dinkard* which seems to express the idea that the demons will be destroyed, though Aharman himself will remain immortal (§ 83). This last doctrine appears to agree better with the ordinary system of the Mazdayasnian books.

129. If the author of the *Ulemâ-i Islâm*[2] teaches that the demons have bodies and are also composed of four elements, this idea seems to us quite recent and altogether contrary to the Mazdayasnian philosophy of both the Avesta and the Sassanide times.

Before leaving this subject we must remark that the *North*[3] is the quarter specially appropriated to the demons. The ugly and abominable maiden, who comes to meet the soul of a wicked man after his death, tells him: "Though I dwell in the northern regions, yet I am placed further north through thee, by the evil thoughts, words and deeds that thou hast practised."[4] It is from the North that the demons come and thither they return.

If we can trust the *Mainyo-i Khard*, there are no less than 99,999 demons, drûjs and peris,—in equal number to that of the *fravâhars*.[5] However, this is the favourite number of Mazdeism.

---

[1] Dk., III., 110, 12.

[2] UI., p. 6. (Vullers' translation, p. 55.)

[3] Or else the West, the abode of darkness; cf. Pers. *bâkhtar*. See de Harlez, *Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta*, 1 edit. (1878), p. 117.

[4] AVN., xvii., 24-25.

[5] MK., xlix., 16.

CHAPTER IV.

COSMOLOGY.

I.—*Distinction between the Spiritual Firmament and the Material Sky.*

130. We have already spoken about the 'Dualism' that characterizes the Mazdayasnian cosmology, that is to say, the distinction between the spiritual world and the material one. This Dualism is indicated by a quite particular term in Parsi, which speaks 'of the body and soul of the two worlds' (*dû akhâni tano rûân*),[1] which is elsewhere explained by the expression *Mainyô u gêthî daheshnân* (the spiritual and temporal creations).[2] We have just spoken about the spiritual creation in the preceding chapter. It must not, however, be imagined that the division of these two creations in the Mazdayasnian system corresponds exactly with our ideas on this subject. Mazdeism, on the contrary, comprises in the spiritual world some creatures which are material according to our idea and which belong to the material world.[3]

131. In order to put ourselves in the Mazdayasnian point of view, we must first of all mark the difference between the two heavens—the one spiritual, the other material; these are the *çpîhar* and the *âçmân*. It is better to give them different names, viz., those of the *firmament* and the *sky*.

For the Mazdayasnian philosophy this *çpîhar* (or *çpîhâr*), as we have already seen (§12), occupies the first place in the spiritual creation of Aûharmazd, as the *âçmân* does in the material creation. This sphere is always revolving and is the strongest of all things,[4]—which (as we have already remarked) means that it was regarded as a form of destiny.

---

[1] MK., i., 9.

[2] Ibid., 1.

[3] [According to the Mazdayasnian idea everything in the good creation is presided over by an angel or guardian spirit. Therefore by the material creatures being comprised by Mazdeism in the spiritual world, it must be understood that not those creatures themselves but the yazds or guardian spirits presiding over them are meant.—Tr.]

[4] MK., xxviii., 10.

132. Neryosengh in his translation of the *Mainyo-i Khard* was careful to distinguish this firmament from the material sky by the term राशिग्रहचक्र, 'the circle of the Zodiac and the planets.' In fact, for a Mazdayasnian these astronomical bodies were not material but belonged to the world of spirits. If we are surprised at this, it must be remembered that the Mazdayasnians regarded light most probably as having a spiritual nature; because, even Aûharmazd, although being 'the Spirit of the Spirits' and 'invisible,' was seen as *light* (§ 37). If we had, therefore, wished to follow closely the Mazdayasnian classification, we should have already treated these celestial bodies in the preceding chapter. But it has appeared more convenient to group together here, in one chapter, everything that corresponds with the visible creation, as understood in our sense. However, the distinctions, which we have established, must not be lost sight of. It may have been seen in the last chapter how the celestial bodies, stars, planets, &c., are absolutely treated as the spirits of both creations, as Yazds or Dêvs.

II.—Firmament.

(*a*)—*Signs of the Zodiac, Constellations.*

133. Aûharmazd, therefore, having first of all created the firmament or sphere, fixed thereon the twelve signs of the Zodiac, which have a common revolution with it.[1] The names of them are the same as in our languages,[2] every

---

[1] BD., ii., 2.

[2] SIS., xxi., 2; BD., ii., 2; The names are :—

Varak (Lamb).	*Tarâzûk* (Balance).
Tórâ (Bull).	*Gazdûm* (Scorpion).
Dô patkar (Two figures).	*Nimasp* (Half-horse, Centaur).
Kalacang (Crab).	*Vahîk* (perhaps *Nahûzîk*, Capricornus).
Shêr (Lion).	*Dûl* (Waterpot).
Khûshak (Virgin).	*Máhîk* (Fish).

See West, PT., I., p. 11.

constellation has three forms.[1] They are divided into twenty-eight parts or lunar mansions (*khurtak-i hâmârikân* 'fragments of the calculators')[2].

The whole history of the world is divided into twelve parts, over each of which presides one of the Zodiacal signs: every period being of a thousand years.[3] Not only do these constellations (*akhtarân*) preside over the epochs, but the Creator has specially entrusted to them all His original creatures of the material world (*bûndahîshnân-i çtîh*), in order that they may defend and protect them from the attacks of the adversary (*agîdât*).[4] Also they are the twelve generals (*spâhvad*) on the side of Aûharmazd, who prepare and impel the worlds.[5] They themselves, however, depend upon the constellation *Haptôirang* or the Great Bear who holds them by the hand and makes them rise and set, so that they implore his assistance.[6]

This constellation (called also *Haptôkring*) is specially the guardian of the Northern region; the other three celestial regions have also their chiefs. That of the East is *Tîshtar*, the star Sirius; those of the South and West are respectively called *Vanand* and *Satavês*, which, according to Dr. West, may be identified with the stars Fomalhaut and Antares in *Scorpio*.[7]

---

[1] BD., vii., 4. May we compare this curious detail with the notion of the Babylonian cosmogony mentioned by Lenormant? "He excellently made the mansions (twelve) in number for the great gods...for each of the twelve months he fixed *three stars*." *Origins de l' Histoire*, tom I., pp. 498-501.

[2] BD., ii., 3.

[3] BD., xxxiv.

[4] BD., ii., 4.

[5] MK., viii., 18, 21; xii., 5.

[6] MK., xlix., 18-21.

[7] P.T., I., pp. 12-13, n. Geiger rather thinks that *Satavês* must be Arcturus of Boötes or Vega of Lyra. OK., pp. 312-313.

148. We offer, with hesitation, an attempted translation of this passage, the version of which as given by Destur Peshotun does not at all seem admissible to us :—

"The world is material by corporiety, visible, tangible. Then the creation is excited by itself to the struggle. (Because) there is a creation opposed and with an aggressive hostility against the perpetual good progress (of things) ; and its action is of this nature. And the revelation of it was made when there was (as yet) no material creation. The manifest action (proceeding) from this excitation of hostility of one half of the material world is something visible and tangible. And everything that is visible to the corporeal eye and tangible by the corporeal hand is the world (*çti*). And the origin of the existing world is by the creation of the Creator, and the creation (has taken place) by means of an instrumentality of force. Then it has the scriptural name of *existence*. It is called the primary foundation of the world and is known as the mother (source) of the creations. Then the first corporeal existence was produced by the Creator, and its formation (proceeds) in proportion to its existence itself. The scriptural name of this production is the *progress of existence*. Thence the four elements are named: air, fire, water and earth, the four foundations of the beings of the world. And the second corporeal existence was (produced) by the wise action of the Creator in the progress of existence. Thence its name the *continuation of existence*. And thence the four (elements) are said to be mortal, mixed, living, and organised. In the third place, the *fravâhars* and the souls are by the supreme action[1] of the Creator united with the mortals and direct the world. Thence mankind, animals, and the other good living beings have their names. As they become endowed with terrestrial life (*gâyak*), they are definitively made to abide in the bodies and the bodies are

[1] Perhaps "elevation" (*avadgarîh*) from *avad-gar*, one who makes superior, one who elevates (?).

(made) for them. But the force is peculiar to each [that is to say to the body and soul]; and this is the reason (why) the separation of the compound happens."

149. Here we have a much larger scope assigned to matter. Not only what has a body and is tangible, but also what is visible, is material. There are some indications which lead us to believe that the *Dinkart* would also include the firmament of the stars and celestial bodies themselves in the ranks of matter. We have already seen this opinion asserted for the Sun and the Moon (§ 88), and we shall afterwards see other traces of it.

Here we have likewise an attempted ontology: existence (or being, *yehevûnishn*) being supposed as the foundation of all the creatures. From this indifferent foundation the animated beings are formed 'in three stages': first of all there come the four elements which are the basis of all matter; then intervenes apparently a sort of vitality given to a mixture of these elements, which are organised in the form of body and thus become alive though mortal. Finally, the spiritual parts—the *fravâhar* and the soul—are added to it, and the human or animal compound is formed. This compound lasts till its dissolution by death, when the material portion or body dies by its separation from the spiritual parts, the existence of which continues.[1]

We think we can also see an indication of the high spirituality of the *Dinkart* in the doctrine of the complete independence (*ayotâk*) of the spiritual and material forces (*zôr*) in the compound.

(*d*)—*Form of the World.*

150. The form of the material world is clearly determined. In reply to the question of the sage, the Spirit of Wisdom teaches him that "the sky (*âçmân*), earth, water, and whatever else that is found in the midst of the sky (*andarun âçmân*) is formed like an egg of a bird. The sky above and

[1] Cf. also the passage quoted in our § 84.

below the earth is formed like an egg by the hand (*dast-kârî*) of the Creator, Aûharmazd, and the earth in the midst of the sky is like the yolk amidst the egg."[1] Such is also the doctrine of the *Dinkart*, which gives a similar description of the arrangement of the material world; it is worth while to quote the passage:—

151. *Men dino nakizo i, âçmâno fratûm dâm men zaki çtîhik. Çtîhîk va afârik dâmâni hamâk yehebûnt yekavimûnît (men) andarûn-i âçmâno, cigûn vâi andarûni khâik yehebûnt yekavimûnît; âçmâno pîrâmûni viçpâno, cigûn khâik mehim vâi.*[2]

"According to the interpretation of the Law, the sky was the first creation of the material world. The world[3] and the other creations were placed together in the midst of the sky, like the bird in the midst of the egg; the sky surrounded everything as the egg (surrounds) the bird."

152. Spiegel seems to think that he can find in this metaphor some signs of a doctrine of the cosmic egg (*das Weltei*), similar to that of the Phœnician and Babylonian cosmogonies.[4] And if we trust to the translation of the above passage of the *Dinkart*, as given by Destur Peshotun,[5] this idea would be fully confirmed. But his translation is altogether erroneous, as may easily be seen from our quota-

---

[1] MK., xliv., 7-10. The MS. B adds: "And the water on the earth and in the sky is like the water in the egg."

[2] DK., II., 74, 2.

[3] The material (*stîhîk*) world seems here to be distinguished from the material sky (*âçmân*). If we compare this fact with another, viz., that the *Dinkart* calls the sun and the moon material (§ 88), we shall be led to believe that this work followed another cosmological system more similar to our own. In this case the first phrase should be translated: "The sky was a creation *anterior* to this material world." The same conclusion may be drawn from Dk., II., 81, 3, where the revolving sky (*gartô-i âçmân*) is mentioned before the celestial bodies and without any mention of the firmament or of the sphere.

[4] EA., I., 452-453.

[5] Vol. II, p. 79. "Just as a bird is produced from an egg, so the creatures of this world and other creation have been produced."

tation. It seems to us that only the *form* of the material world is thought of; on account of its apparent rotundity which causes the celestial vault to appear to embrace our earth, they very naturally compared it with the egg, having the yolk or the bird in its centre. There is certainly no question of a *production* by means of the egg, as in the mythologies quoted.

IV.—Material Sky.—Meteorology.

153 In the creation of the *çtîh*, the material sky (*âçmân*) occupies an analogous position to that of the firmament (*çpîhar*) in the creation of the spiritual world. We must not forget that this sky was not to the Mazdayacnian eye the space of the astronomical bodies, which were literally *fixed* to the ever-revolving sphere of the firmament. It was rather what it has been called 'the atmospheric sky.'[1] It is often said that the sky is formed from the substance called *khûn-âhino*,[2] literally 'blood-iron.' This adjective is translated by Neryosengh तीक्ष्णलोह which means 'steel.' The Persian version is exactly the same. Windischmann,[3] however, followed by Justi and West, has preferred to translate the word by "ruby," as if the compound word meant 'blood-stone.'

154. It is in the region governed by this material sky that the meteorological phenomena are produced. It seems that the term *andarvâi* is sometimes used as a designation of the atmosphere.[4] However, it is not always so, because the *andarvâi* is spoken of in hell where there is no atmosphere;[5] and it generally signifies the void between light and primeval

---

[1] Probably this was also the sense of the Biblical השטים (as in the expressions 'the mountains under the sky,' 'the birds of the sky') distinguished from the וקיע.

[2] MK., ix., 7; BD. xii., 6; xxx., 5.

[3] *Zor. Stud.*, p. 72, in chap. xxx., he translates the word by 'Edelstein' (precious stone, jewel, p. 114).

[4] Dk., II., 81, 3.

[5] AVN., xxvi., 2; Cf. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, p. 209.

darkness. Thus it is said that Aûharmazd conducted the sun, moon and stars in this *andarvâi* or space.[1]

The atmospheric air (*vâi*) conveys or communicates eyesight by means of the wind (*vât*).[2] The wind, which blows according to its will and which one is not able to catch by the hand,[3] has the task of stirring the atmosphere, as the life in the body has the task of purifying it.[4] The clouds rest and abide on the Albûrz.[5] Tishtar pours out rain from the clouds as from a jar (*khûmb*)[6], and it is the wind that restrains the rain from becoming excessive and divides it into springs, seas and oceans.[7]

Lightning and thunder proceed from the conflict between the sacred fire *Vâzîsht* (personification of thunderbolt) and the demon *Aspenjargâk*, whose club produces the noise of the storm.[8]

155. The Sassanian cosmology being the inheritor of the doctrines of the Avesta attributed to rain an importance which is indeed remarkable. Its production was supernatural. It was by the action of numerous yazds that the whole economy of waters and their circulation were directed. The chief of these yazds was Tîshtar, assisted by Staves and also by Vohûman, Arêdvîsûr, Vât, Hôm, Dîno, Bûrj and the fravâhars.[9] These genii drew water from the springs, rivers and seas, and formed it into clouds. The rain is essentially water, and the instruments (for the production) of rain are wind, cloud and mist (*vâráno khûtîhî mayû va vârûno afzâr vâto muznâh*[10] *va awar*).[11] Whether this humidity falls in small or large drops of rain, or in the form of hail or snow,

---

[1] BD., xxx., 5.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] BD., vii., 6.
[5] MK, xliv., 16; lvi. 5.
[6] BD., vii., 11.
[7] BD., vii., 14, 6.
[8] Ibid, 12.
[9] Dk., III., 112; BD., vii., 3.

[10] Cf. Arab. *muznat* = cloud. There is also Pers. *mûgh* = Av. *maêgha* = Skt. *mégha*; but the Pehlevi z would scarcely correspond to a *gh*. There is another word *mûzh* in Persian (Justi, *Kurdish Dictionary*, p. 397).

[11] Dk., III., 112, 6.

depends upon its meeting with a wind endowed with one of the four elementary qualities mentioned above:[1] if the wind contains heat, the drops are small; if it contains humidity, the drops are large; if (the wind contains) cold, there is snow, and if (the wind contains) dryness (there is) hail (*çarîshk-i khôrto va çtavar, tekerg*[2] *va vafr*[3] *men gvîto patyûrashnih-i vâto cahâr-i zâkâno : zak-i amat vâto garmîh yehçûnît, çarishki khôrto; amat khôîtîh ychçûnit çarishki çtavar ; amat çartîh, vafr ; amat hûshkih, teherg.*[4]

156. The evil spirits are always occupied in hindering the production of rain: hence the eternal struggle between the yazds and the demons. The latter are under the command of *Apaôsh*, the demon of drought. For, the demons try to impede the progress of nature and also the health of mankind especially by the two evil qualities, cold and dryness.[5] But not only do the yazds triumph over these wicked beings, but often Aûharmazd uses their own arms against themselves: thus, like one who would cause the heads of his enemies to be crushed by their own clubs, he makes the winter (*dameçtân*), produced by the Evil Spirit, to destroy the *khrafçtars* or noxious animals of the evil creation.[5]

157. The beneficent action of rain, so highly esteemed at every time in regions like those of Eran, did not consist in the eyes of the Mazdayasnians only in irrigating the earth; they believed that the rain itself brought down the seeds of the plants and distributed them everywhere.[7]

V.—The Earth.

(*a*)—*Mountains, Kêshvars. Geology.*

158. The earth which is in the centre of the sky seems to have a round form according to the *Dinkart* which even

---

[1] Lit. 'the elements,' cf above § 146.
[2] Cf. Pers. *tegerk*, Kurd. *teger* (Zddm. G., vol. xxxviii., p. 58.)
[3] Cf. Kurd. *wafr*, Pers. *Barf* (Zddm. G., vol. xxxviii., p. 94.)
[4] Dk., III., 112, 7.
[5] Dk., IV., 162, 2-7.
[6] Dk., IV., 162, 11, 12.
[7] BD., ix., 2; MK., lxii., 41, 42; cf. BY., ii., 42.

relies upon the *Avesta* (*damîk dâshak men dino girto-i pîtâk*).[1] But according to other books the earth, though circular, is rather a flat space wholly surrounded by a vast chain of mountains called the Albûrz.[2] This chain, as we have seen, is bored with 360 gates or openings, through which the sun passes every day of the year while rising and setting (§ 137). The Albûrz, like all other mountains, is the result of the violent attacks made by Aharman upon the earth[3], for in the beginning the earth was flat, as it will be again after the final destruction of evil, when all the inequalities of its surface will be smooth, and cold will exist no more.[4] The Albûrz has taken 800 years to attain to its present height, and now it reaches to the summit of the material sky, up to the eternal light.[5] All other mountains are offshoots of the Albûrz,[6] with which they remain in connection (evidently by their subterranean roots).[7] There are in all 2,244 mountains, the principal of which are described in the Bûndehesh.[8]

159. In the first instance seven of them are very great[9] from which the other mountains have been produced.[10] Finally, the hills, scattered through the regions of the Mazdayasnians, grew separately in several places (*pârak pârak pavan çûk*).[11] It is not necessary to give here all the details about these mountains: we have only to consult the excellent essay of Windischmann.[12] These mountains although produced by

---

[1] Dk., I., 19. Such is the explanation of Peshotun. Perhaps *girto* may simply mean circular and not spherical.

[2] BD., v., 3-5; Dk., I., 19; MK., lvii., 13.

[3] BD., viii., 1, 2; ZS., vii., 1.

[4] BD., xxx., 33.

[5] BD., xii., 1; ZS., vii., 6.

[6] BD., xii., 2.

[7] BD., viii., 2, 3.

[8] BD., xii., 2-40.

[9] Ibid., 3-27.

[10] Ibid., 28-40.

[11] West has translated the phrase by 'piecemeal.' BD., xii., 41.

[12] *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 1-19. See also the commentary of West, PT. I., pp. 34-41.

Aharman are nevertheless sources of happiness and prosperity to mankind.[1] Great rivers flow from them [2] The rain-producing clouds dwell, as we have seen, on the Albûrz (§ 154). They keep back and moderate the force of the wind. Further, "they are the destroyers of Aharman and his demons, and the preservers and vivifiers of the creatures and creations of the Lord, Aûharmazd."[3]

160. In the beginning the material world formed only one vast continent. But at the second phase of the great combat in which Aharman, after his defeat in the sky, attacked the waters, Tîshtar, after having conquered Apaôsh, produced a vast inundation in which perished all the *khrafçtars* and evil creatures.[4] From this inundation the seas were formed, which covered one-half of the earth and also divided it into seven parts.[5] These parts are called *kêshvars*. The central *kêshvar* is as great as the other six taken together, and forms the country known to the Eranians, of which Pârs (Persia) itself was the centre.[6] The other *kêshvars* are: Savah on the East, Arzah on the West, Vôrûjarst on the North-East, Vôrûbarst on the North-West, Fradadafsh on the South-West, and Vîdadafsh on the South-East.[7] These continents are now separated by the ocean in such a manner as to render the passage from the one to the other impossible, without the supernatural aid of the yazds or of the dêvs[8]. The last six *kêshvars* however, are inhabited by men, who, like primitive men, do not eat meat but live exclusively upon milk.[9]

[1] BD., xii.; 28, 41.

[2] BD., vii., 15; viii., 4, &c.. ; MK., lvi., 7.

[3] MK., lvi., 6.

[4] BD., vii. West remarks that this deluge *preceded* the creation of man.

[5] BD., xi.

[6] ZS., vii., 10.

[7] BD., v., 8-9; xi., 3.

[8] MK., ix., 6; BD., xi., 4. In the reign of Takhmôrup, however, men constantly passed from one region to the other on the back of the mythical ox *Carçaok*; (a reminiscence undoubtedly of the first migrations into Europe). BD., xvii., 4.

[9] Mk., xvi., 10.

The continent known by the name of *Khvanîras* is not only the greatest of the *kêshvars*, but it is also that place where there is most good and most evil, for it is the scene of the struggle between the two creations.[1]

161. Earthquakes are produced by the action of air which circulates in the interior of the earth as it circulates in the human body. This air (*vâto*), when overheated by fire, shakes and splits the earth. This is again the effect of a want of proportion among the elements.[2] There are thirty-three kinds of lands.[3] The earth does not only produce plants but contains also mineral riches; and what is most astonishing is that the metals themselves have also had an *animal* origin like the plants: they were produced from the body of the first man, Gâyômart.[4] From his limbs were made the seven metals, viz., silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver and diamond. But gold, on account of its excellence, was produced from his life and *semen*.[5]

(*b*)—*Water. Its Circulation. Seas, Rivers.*

162. The extreme value attached to water by the Eranians of all epochs is explained by the requirements of their soil and the importance of rain and of irrigation for their agriculture. They have observed very carefully everything that relates to water and its circulation; and the ideas that we find exposed on these points in the Eranian authors are very precise. The water itself is one of the 17 kinds of liquids[6] to which

---

[1] BD., xi., 1. Windischmann has shown that Khvanîras is probably the whole of the central Asia from Syria to China. *Zor. Stud.*, p. 230.

[2] Dk., II., 93. Peshotun quotes a similar account from the *Zôrêpâstân*, the translation of which is assigned by tradition to Âzarpajoh in the time of Anoshirevan.

[3] BD., xi., 5.

[4] MK., xxvii., 18.

[5] ZS., x., 2.

[6] Yet in the detailed list, it will be observed that only *fourteen* are given.

the general name of *mayâ*, Semitic in origin, is given; following is the list of them :—

1. The water in the plants.
2. The water of the rivers.
3. Rain water.
4. The water of the reservoirs.
5. Animal seed.
6. Animal urine.
7. Animal sweat.
8. The liquid in the skin.
9. Tears.
10. Blood.
11. Animal oil.
12. The saliva.[1]
13. The liquid beneath the barks (?) of the plants.[2]
14. Milk.[3]

163. All these liquids mingle finally again with the rivers.[4] The water is on the earth just as the blood is in the body.[5] The circulation of this water is regulated by the action of the wind.[6] The clouds seize water from the seas, carry it in the atmosphere and make it fall in drops on the earth.[7] The water which is concealed under the earth does not escape the action of the sun who attracts it for the cultivation of lands and for the advantage and happiness of men and animals.[8] But the seas themselves are produced by rain.[9]

The circulation of these waters follows a regular course. Every kind of water enters into the world by the *kêshvar* Arzah (on the West); at the rising of the sun it flows into Sâvah and at the setting of the sun it enters into the sea Pûtîk (the Persian Gulf), whence it passes into the great

---

[1] The text adds: 'which nourishes the embryo.'

[2] Doubtful. This translation is suggested by West. [Justi in his glossary of the *Bûndehesh* has also translated the word *avyan* by 'Rinde,' *i.e.*, 'bark.'—Tr.]

[3] BD., xxi., 1. [Compare this detail of waters with that given in the Pehlevi version of Yaç., xxxviii.—Tr.]

[4] BD., xxi., 2.

[5] MK., ix., 8.

[6] Dk., III., 123.

[7] MK., lvii., 14.

[8] Ibid., 17.

[9] BD., xi., 2.

ocean.[1] The ocean extends to the seven *kêshvars* and separates them from each other.[2] It is salt on account of the venom of the *khrafçtars,* the noxious creatures, mixed with its waters during the great deluge caused by Tîshtar.[3] There is a flow and ebb in some great seas, as in the sea Putik ;[4] and this tide is regulated by the moon and the wind.[5] For the Gulf of Satavesh (the Arabian Sea), the phenomenon is explained in the following manner: there blow two kinds of winds at the rising of the moon, one of which attracts the tide towards the moon and the other repels it to the opposite direction.[6] The other seas have no tide.[7]

Certain lakes or small seas which are mentioned were also originally pure and contained fresh water. Now they have become salt and send forth a very bad smell; but at the time of the end of the world, they will be once more purified.[8]

164. The circulation of water through the rivers is described with much detail. Aûharmazd has created the rivers on the borders of the Albûrz for the protection and vivification of His creatures.[9] However Aharman, who spoils the creation everywhere, has introduced into them cataracts; but these differences in level will disappear after the destruction of the Evil Spirit.[10] All the rivers are derived from the two great primeval semi-mythical rivers, which flow from the northern part of the Albûrz; these are the Arag and the Vêh.[11] We shall not enter here upon the question as to what are the

[1] MḴ., xliv., 12-15.
[2] BD., xix., 10.
[3] BD., vii., 13.
[4] BD., xiii., 8.
[5] Ibid., 11.
[6] Ibid., 13, and cf. West's note.
[7] Ibid., 14,
[8] BD., xiii., 16, 17.
[9] MḴ., lvi., 7.
[10] BD., xx., 6.
[11] Ibid., 2; vii., 16.

present rivers which may correspond with these names: for it is probable that their significations have frequently changed. According to the Sassanian authors, the Arag was generally the great river on the West, and they seem to have included in it the Oxus, the Araxes, the Cyrus, and even the Nile.[1] The Vêh was on the East and has been identified with the Indus.[2] After these two rivers eighteen other great navigable rivers are described, whose geography is given in detail.[3] They all flow back into the Arag and the Vêh, and it is there that the fertilization (*khvâpardârîh*) of the world takes place.[4] Finally, these two rivers, after having circulated through the whole world, fall into the ocean, and all the *kêshvars* live upon the water thus discharged (*zahâk*); then these waters flow back to the sources in the Albûrz whence they proceeded.[5]

(*c*)—*Fire and its Different Species.*

165. The great importance attached to fire in the Mazdayasnian religion is well known. It is esteemed to such an extent that the name of 'Fire Worshippers' has been abusively applied to all the followers of this religion. Fire, though belonging to the elements, seems to have had also a spiritual and celestial origin. In the beginning, fire was diffused through the six *substances*, that is to say, the works of the six periods of creation. It enveloped each of these substances just as the eyelid envelopes the eye.[6] Five kinds of fire are known.[7]

(i) The fire *Berezi-savang* shines near the Lord, Aûharmazd.[8] It seems to be a spiritual fire which is incorporated

[1] BD., xx., 8; cf. West's note.

[2] BD., xx., 9. It is sometimes confounded with the Oxus, see West, PT., I., pp. 78, 80, note.

[3] BD., xx.

[4] BD., vii., 17; xx., 3.

[5] BD., xx., 4.

[6] ZS., I., 21.

[7] BD., xvii.

[8] The *Bûn-Dehesh* does not agree in its definition with the Pehlevi version of the Avesta: There is an inversion of the attributes of the first and the fifth fire. See Spiegel, E. A., II., 48.

in the various forms of material fire, especially like three souls (*nîsmo*)[1] in the three sacred fires,[2] and which dwells in the earth and in the mountains,[3]—probably in volcanoes, petroleum springs, etc.[4]

(ii) The fire *Vôhû-fryân* dwells in the bodies of men and animals and feeds upon water and solid food.

(iii) The fire *Urvâzist* is the fire which is found in plants. It feeds upon water and has no other food.

(iv) The fire *Vâzist* is the lightning which dwells in the clouds; it is the weapon by which the demon Çpenjargâk is struck. This fire has no need either of food or drink.[5]

(v) The fire *Çpênist* is the common fire of this world, which consumes food but not water.

166. The fire *Vâhrâm*, the sacred fire of the Mazdayasnian altar, is associated with the fire last mentioned. As we have seen, this fire is rather an incarnation of the celestial fire. It has three bodies or principal centres, viz., *Frôbâk*, which is in the mountains of Kâbulistân; *Gûshaçp*, on the Asnavand mountain; and *Bûrzîn Mîtrô*, on the mount Rêvand.[6] The three souls of the celestial fire lodge in these three corporeal fires, all of which form the entire body of the fire *Vahrâm*, just as the human soul enters into the embryo whilst it is still in the womb of the mother and imparts life to it.[7]

(*VI.*)—Organic World.

(*a*)—*Sex*.

167. The transition from the inorganic world to the organic one is facilitated by a very remarkable doctrine of the *Bûn-Dehesh*, according to which all beings, even inorganic

---

[1] BD., xvii., 3.
[2] Ibid., 4, 9.
[3] Ibid., 3.
[4] West, PT. I., p. 62, n.
[5] BD., xvii., 2.
[6] Ibid., 4-8.
[7] Ibid., 9.

ones, are endowed with *sex*. Thus the sky (*âçmân*), metals, wind and fire are always and exclusively males, but the water, earth, plants and fishes are exclusively females. Other creatures are divided into male and female.[1]

(*b*)—*Vegetable Kingdom.—Botanical Notions.*

168. As we have seen an animal origin attributed to the metals, so it is the same with the plants. But whilst the metals were produced from the body of Gâyomard (§161), the plants and the animals were developed from the several parts of the primeval ox.[2] Thus 55 species of grain and 12 species of medicinal plants grew up from the marrow. From the horns arose peas (*mîjûk*);[3] from the nose, the leek (*gandûak*);[4] from the lungs, rue (*çpendân*); from the middle of the heart (head or liver)[5] the thyme which keeps off evil odours. From the blood arose the vine, from which wine is made: It is on this account that wine is rich in blood.[6]

169. However, quite another origin and a much more natural one is assigned to the plants in another passage. The earth had become quite dry during the primitive battle of the spirits. Then the Ameshoçpand *Amêrôdat* pounded the plants and mixed them up with water. Tîshtar poured this water in the form of rain upon the earth; then innumerable plants grew up on the whole earth like the hair upon our heads. There grew forth first of all 10,000 species possessing the property of keeping away diseases; and from these, 100,000 more species have been developed.[7] These plants are perhaps different from those produced from the body of the primeval ox; for it is said that the seeds

---

[1] BD., xvi., 6.

[2] BD., xiv.; x., 1.

[3] Or lentils, *mizhû*, Kurd. *Mûzhî*.

[4] Undoubtedly on account of its odour (rt. *gand* = to stink).

[5] 𐬎𐬀𐬭 can be read either as *dâl*, *çar* or *jigar*. This is a curious example of the ambiguity of Pehlevi!

[6] BD., xiv., 1, 2.

[7] BD., ix., 3. Cf. xxvii., 2, and ZS., viii., 2.

of these 110,000 plants as well as those coming forth from the ox are on the tree of all seeds *(van-i harviçp tôkhmak)*,[1] also called *gvît bîsh*, 'opposed to harm.'[2] This tree itself grew forth from this action of Amêrôdat and Tîshtar.[3] It is in the ocean by the side of the other mystic tree called *Gôkart* or the *White Hôm*, which is the chief of the plants, the tree of life, whose fruits bring on immortality.[4] Near the tree of all seeds is the mystic bird *Camrôsh*, and on the tree is the *Sînamrû* (*Simûrgh*).[5] The latter, when it rises aloft, shakes off the seeds from the tree,[6] which seeds are gathered by the bird *Camrôsh* and are carried by it to Tîshtar, who mixes them up with rain, and in this manner the seeds are again spread over the whole world.[7] According to the *Bûn-dehesh* this action of the bird happens once a year, probably in spring. According to the *Mainyo-i Khard*, it seems to be often repeated.

170. The water (*mayâ*) or sap in the plants circulates like the waters of the earth, or like the blessings (*âfrîn*) which the righteous utter, and which come back to themselves.[8] It is this sap which connects the plant with its root. It seems to be distinguished from that liquid which appears in the form of a drop, when a twig (*tĕkh*) is placed at a little distance before a fire, and which is called the *mayâ* in the *avyan* (probably the bark).[9]

---

[1] [In Yt., xii., 17, this tree is called *Çaêna* which is in the middle of the sea *Vaurukasha*. It is also called *hubish* (the tree of good remedies), *eredhvôbish* (the tree of powerful remedies), and *Vîçpôbish* (the tree of all remedies).—Tr.]

[2] BD., xxvii., 2; cf. xviii., 9.

[3] BD., ix., 5.

[4] BD., xxvii., 4; ix., 6; xviii., 1-6.

[5] MK., lxii., 37-42.

[6] Ibid., 38.

[7] Ibid., 41-42; xxvii., 3.

[8] BD., xxi., 5.

[9] Ibid., 1.

171. The classification of plants according to the *Bûn-Dehesh* comprises 16 genera as given in the following table :—

1. Perennial trees (*sâlvâr*) which do not bear any fruit: as the cypress, the plane, the white poplar, etc.
2. Perennial trees that give food: as the date, the myrtle, the vine, the apple-tree, etc.
3. Grains (cereals : *jûrdûk*).
4. Aromatic herbs (*çiparam*).
5. Cultivated flowers (*gûl*).
6. Wild plants (*vahâr*? or *nihâl*).
7. Grass (*giyâh*: food for animals).
8. Spices (*âvzarîhâ* : for cakes, tarts, etc.)
9. Salad (*têrak*).
10. Textile plants (*jâmak*, as cotton).
11. Oil plants (*rôkano*).
12. Dyeing plants (*rag*).
13. Perfumes (*bôd* : as frankincense, camphor, etc.)
14. Gums (*zatak*).
15. Wood (*cîbâ*).
16. Medicinal plants (*dârûk*).[1]

172. This simple classification is commercial rather than scientific and does not differ much from what would be found in a collection of commercial products. The fruits are divided in the following manner :—

1. *Those of which both the inner and outer parts are eaten.*—They are of ten kinds: as the fig, apple, grape, etc.

2. *Those of which the inner part only is eaten and not the outer one.*—They are of ten kinds : as the almond, walnut, chesnut, etc.

3. *Those of which the outer part only is eaten and not the inner one.*—They are of ten kinds : as the date, the peach, apricot, etc.

In all, thirty principal species.[2]

---

[1] BD., xxvii., 5-22.

[2] Ibid., 23.

All the flowers, as we have already seen, are dedicated to some one of the Ameshoçpands and yazds: thirty-one of them are mentioned.[1]

Mystic Trees.

173. The *Dinkart* also teaches, undoubtedly in the same sense as the *Bûn-dehesh*, that all the medicines are derived from the *Gôkart* tree.[2] But, if we may believe Peshotun, the *Dinkart* distinguishes this tree from the *White Hôm*; because therein the *Gôkart*, the source of all medicines, is spoken of as growing out of the earth (*vano-i angôn men damîk Gôkarto*), and afterwards the *White Hôm* (which will furnish man with immortality at the time of the resurrection) is spoken of as being in the ocean, or the sea with the wide shores (*cigûn hôm-i çpêto-i yin frâkhû-karto-zrâi, pavan frashkarto ahôshîh-i martûm patash karto yemlalûnît*).[3]

Destur Peshotun thinks that Spiegel, West and Justi are mistaken in regarding these two trees as one and the same. In support of what he says, he does not only rely upon the above-quoted text and the Avesta, but also upon the *Bûn-dehesh* and the *Mainyo-i Khard*.[4] The first of these Pehlevi books, however, seems clearly to confirm the identification of the two mystic trees,[5] whilst the other speaks only of the *Jad-bêsh* tree, the tree of all seeds (the *harviçpo tokhmak vano-i gvit-bish*, about which we have already spoken). It is possible, however, that the *Dinkart* has intended to identify the latter, rather than the *White Hôm*, with the *Gôkart*, on account of the medicaments which it produced. Peshotun prefers this last identification,[6] which, however, does not seem

---

[1] BD., xxvii., 24.

[2] [Cf. Vend., xx., 4, where it is said that Ahuramazda has produced innumerable health-giving and medicinal plants round the Gaôkerena tree.—Tr.]

[3] See the translation of *Dinkart*, IV., 157, 45.

[4] Translation, Dk., IV., p. 235, n.

[5] BD., xxvii., 4.

[6] Dk., IV., p. 235.

to agree either with the Avesta or with the other Pehlevi books.[1]

174. It does not lie in our plan to discuss here the origins of the Mazdayasnian notions: but we must remark by the way with surprise that in the two mystic trees of the Eranians Spiegel seems to see the origin of the Trees of Knowledge and of Life mentioned in the book of Genesis.[2] The illustrious Eranist remarks that "the mention of the Tree of Life made in the Old Testament is altogether isolated, and that we only know of it from what the biblical account teaches us, viz., that immortality was obtained by eating of its fruit. On the other hand among the Aryas, both the Hindus and the Eranians, the legends regarding this mystic tree are fully developed: it is therefore quite reasonable to believe that the Jews borrowed this legend from the Aryan mythology."

175. In answer to this objection, it is sufficient to refer to the discoveries made in Assyriology since the publication of Spiegel's *Alterthumskunde*. We quote what Lenormant says about it: "The decipherment of the cuneiform texts has now greatly changed the point of view of science and destroyed the Aryan theory from top to bottom, which now counts not more than a very small number of tardy defenders."[3] The whole question of the comparative mythology regarding the two trees may be seen treated at full length by the same author.[4] We should not wonder, however, if Spiegel by this time agreed with this opinion.[5]

---

[1] As regards the *Dinkart*, I now think Peshotun is clearly in the right; see my *Traité de Médecine Mazdéenne* (Louvain, 1886), pp. 6, 40.

[2] EA., I., 464-468.

[3] *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, t. I. p. 110. On the remark of Spiegel on the name γεὼψ (p. 467) cf. Lenormant, p. 111.

[4] *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, I., pp. 74-98.

[5] [Other eminent scholars who are in favour of the Aryan theory bring forward decisive arguments in defence of their theory and prove the anti-Aryan theory of Lenormant and other Assyriologists to be false. —Tr.]

We must also notice the very sensible development which the legend of the two divine trees has undergone in the Sassanian system as compared with the Avestaic doctrine. Thus, we can easily see a real evolution of a pure Aryan nature-worship of the natural plant, effected under influences evidently foreign and clearly Semitic;[1] an evolution the history of which commences with the Gâthâs and is continued down even to the most recent parts of the Avesta, where these Semitic influences distinctly appear.[2]

In Yt. xii., 17, for example, we find for the first time the second tree, 'that of the good remedies.' The *Gaôkerena* makes its appearance in the *Vendîdad*, and has again nothing to do with the *Haoma*. But at the time of which we are speaking the systematizing spirit of the Eranians has distinguished two kinds of *Haôma*,—one the yellow and terrestrial one, the other the white and supernatural one, and this latter is identified with the *Gôkart* (*Gaôkerena*). The 'Tree of Remedies' or 'of All Seeds' has acquired a very great importance, it has been placed by the side of the first tree in order to obtain the symmetry so dear to the Eranians. And the whole legend of the two trees has assumed an essentially non-Aryan character and leaves no doubt as to its origin.[3]

---

[1] Even the form given to the White Hôm in plastic art is of Semitic origin. See Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, I., 78. The figure of the *Hóm* is reproduced by Reuseus in 'l'étoffe de Chinon.' See *Archéologie Chrétienne*, 2nd edit. (1884), t. I., p. 266. Here we see not only the tree but also the bird Camrôsh. One is tempted to ask whether the figure called 'Pyræus or Fire Altar' is not rather the Tree of All Seeds? L'étoffe de Chinon belongs to the Sassanide epoch.

[2] [In refutation of this remark of the author, see the opinions of other scholars quoted in the translator's note 3 on p. 47-49.—Tr.]

[3] [The two kinds of *Haoma* plant were also known to the Avestaic people, viz., the *Haoma zâirî* and the *Haoma dûraosha*, of which the former is the yellow and the latter the white *Hóm* of the Pehlevi books. *Haoma dûraosha* appears to have borne in the Avestaic time the same supernatural qualities as the white *Hôm* possessed in the Sassanian time, which is also evident from the root itself of the word *dûraosha* [from *dura* = far, distant, and *aosha* (*aoshaṇh* from *ush* = to burn) = sickness, death.] Thus

(*c*)—*Animal Kingdom: Zoological Notions.*

176. The animals like the plants have been formed from the body of the primeval ox. His semen was carried up to the lunar heaven (*mûh-pâyak*), where it was purified. Then a pair of oxen, male and female, was produced from it, and afterwards a pair of every species of animals. Hence it is said that the ox was created twice (*dôbâr yehebûnt*): first as ox, and secondly as having produced the animals of manifold species (*pavan goçpend pûr çartak*).[1] Spiegel remarks that nothing is said of the formation of birds and fishes.[2]

177. The classification of the animal kingdom is more systematic than that of the plants. We give below its three classes, 5 genera and 282 species arranged in a table :—

Class (*kartak*).	Genus (*khadûinak*).	Species (*çartak*).
I. Animals that graze and are found in the valleys.	1. With cloven feet.	i Goat.... 5 kinds.
		ii Sheep... 5 ,,
		iii Camel.. 2 ,,
		iv Ox.....15 ,,
	2. 'Ass-footed.'	v Horse.[3]... 8 ,,

---

dûraosha literally means 'keeping off sickness or death,' hence 'giving immortality.' The Pehlevi authors, instead of identifying their white *Hôm* with the *Haoma dûraosha* of the Avesta, have wrongly identified it with the *Gokart* tree, the *Gaokerena* of the Avesta. Again the Avestaic *Gaokerena* from its description in Vd. xx., 4, and *Çaena* of Yt., xii., 17, seem to be one and the same tree, but quite different from the *Haôma dûraosha* or white *Hôm* of the Pehlevi books. But the legend of these two trees in the Pehlevi books and that of the Trees of Life and Knowledge in the Genesis seem to have originated and to have been developed from two quite different sources. There is no doubt, however, that the former legend has the Avesta for its origin and development, which indeed owes nothing to the Semitic people for its ideas and theories.—Tr.]

[1] BD., xiv., 3, 4.

[2] EA., I., 511.

[3] Comprising ass, hippopotamus, &c.

II. Animals that travel afar and dwell on the hills.	3. With toes.	vi Dog[1]...10 kinds	
		vii Hare ... 5 ,,	
		viii Weasel.[2] 5 ,,	
		ix Musk animal ...8 ,,	
	4. Winged...	x Birds[3] (in 8 groups)...110 ,,	
III. Aquatic animals.	5...	?...xi Fishes[4]...10 ,,	
		xii Wild animals.[5]	

178. These numbers give a total of 186 species.

The remainder of the 282 species mentioned above are 'the species created within species,'[6]—the sub-species as we should call them. Also, observes Zâd Sparam, some species must be added for the pigs, which are not mentioned above: so that, with the species mentioned and those that are not mentioned, there are in all 282; and again these species are divided into a thousand varieties.[7]

179. One must have already noticed that many superior animals, all reptiles and all insects, are wanting in this list. It is because a great part of the beings in the animal kingdom are the creatures of Aharman, who created them in opposition to those of Aûharmazd. Thus the animals are arranged in two hostile armies, and every animal of the good creation

---

[1] Comprising the otter, fox, ichneumon, porcupine, and civet cat.

[2] Comprising squirrel, &c.

[3] Comprising (according to West) the bat which partakes of the threefold nature of a dog, bird and musk, says the text, (v. 24). The *Çinmurg* (Simûrgh) is also referred to here.

[4] The latter divisions do not agree in the MSS. Windischmann gives the following order:—xi. Bat, 2 kinds. xii. Fishes, 10 kinds. xiii. Wild beasts. *Zor. Stud.*, p. 80.

[5] BD., xiv; ZS., ix.

[6] BD., xiv., 27.

[7] ZS., ix., 14.

has its adversary in the hostile rank.[1] Among these opposed animals we find the following mentioned:—

The white falcon	destroying	the	serpent.
The magpie (*kaskinak*)	,,	,,	locust.
The vulture (*kahrkas*), The crow (*valâk*), The kite.	,,	,,	putrefying matter.
The mountain ox, the mountain goat, the wild ass, etc.	,,	,,	snakes.
The dog	,,	,,	wolf.
The fox	,,	,,	demon *Khava*
The ichneumon	,,	,,	venomous serpent (*garzak*).
The musk animals	,,	,,	intestinal worms.
The hedge-hog	,,	,,	ants.
The otter	,,	,,	demon of the waters.
The cock and the dog	,,	,,	demons and the *Yâtus*.[2]

180. The noxious animals, chiefly reptiles and insects, are grouped under the name *khrafçtars*, often associated with the demons and drûjs. The ant is placed among them as the thief of grain.[3] The wolf is said to be the destroyer of its own young.[4]

Besides, every animal that has no fear whatever of the hand (of man) is evil.[5]

The *Bûn-dehesh* gives many particulars of the various animals belonging to both creations. These are mostly fragments of popular beliefs and superstitions, very interesting for the students of *folk-lore*, but to which we need pay little attention at present.[6]

---

[1] BD., xix., 21.

[2] Ibid., 21-36.

[3] Ibid., 28, and also in the Vendidâd.

[4] Dk., II., 78-9.

[5] BD., xxiv., 10.

[6] For the principal animals of every species, see *Bûn-dehesh*, xxiv. The animals which men are forbidden to kill are chiefly: the lamb, goat, ox, horse, hare, bat, cock 'the bird of Vohûman,' magpie, kite, eagle and swallow. SIS., x., 9.

Although the fox belongs to the good creation, we find it mentioned as descended from dog and wolf, and partaking to a certain extent of the qualities of either.[1] Besides the ignorance of natural history, which this fact betrays, it also proves that there can be an intercourse between the two creations, and that some creatures can even belong partly to one and partly to the other.

181. However, the principle of heredity and the transmission of qualities of the parents on both sides by generation and also the sterility of hybrids were known to the Eranians.[2]

The books of the Sassanide period do not allude directly to the question of the souls of the inferior animals, though they distinguish between the instinct of animals and the moral knowledge of man[3]: but the *Ulemâ-i Islâm* formally denies that they have a soul or a *fravâhar*.[4] On this last point it is in contradiction with the Pehlevi authorities, which assign *fravâhars* to all the good creatures, even to inanimate beings.

Mythical Animals.

182. It will be no more necessary to insist upon the different mythical animals, good or evil, of which mention is made. Nothing can be more extravagant than this odd mythology. Among the good creation we find the three-legged ass of gigantic proportion and grotesque attributes;[5] the ox *Hadhayôs* or *Çarçaok*, who, like the bull of Europa, transported on his back the first emigrants to the other *keshvar* across the ocean.[6] Among the birds, we find *Camrôsh* mentioned above (§ 169); *Karshipt* which can speak, and which

---

[1] Dk., II., 80, 7. According to the version of West (PT., II., 403) who translates the word *rûfai* (?) as *rûwâs* in BD., xiv. Peshotun translates quite differently.

[2] Dk., II., 80, 8-9.

[3] MK., xiii., 1.

[4] UI., p. 8 (Vullers' translation, p. 63).

[5] BD., xix., 1-12: MK., lxii., 26, 27.

[6] BD., xv., 27; xvii., 4; xix., 13.

carried religion into the *Var* of Yim ;[1] *Çin-murg* or *Simurg* of colossal size and of 'three natures.'[2] Among the fishes we find the *Kar* fish, which protects the *Gôkard* tree from the lizard (*vazagh*) created by Aharman,[3] and the Ox-fish.[4]

The strange being Gôpatshâh, half bull and half man, who dwells on the shores of the sea, pouring out into it holy water,[5] reminds us in a striking manner of the great bulls with human heads of the Assyrian sculptures, and seems to have been borrowed from those monuments.

Of the evil creation we find mentioned only the serpent *Çruvar*, the wolf *Kapôda*, which is also called *Pêhan* ; and the bird *Kamak*. We do not find, however, any description of them in detail.[6]

---

[1] BD., xiv ; xxiv., 11, 29; xix. 16; MK. lxii., etc. There are other birds which speak, BD., xix., 19. [Cf. Vend. ii., 42 , according to which Vishkaripta carried religion into the *Var* of Yima.—Tr.].

[2] BD., xiv; xxiv; xix. MK. lxii.

[3] BD., xviii ; xxiv.

[4] BD., xix., 17.

[5] MK., lxii., 31-36, is the only passage where he is spoken of.

[6] [Some of the animals described in § 182, such as the three-legged ass, the bird Camrôsh, the Kar and Ox fishes, appear only to be allusions to some natural phenomena.—Tr.]

CHAPTER V.

MAN.

I.—ANTHROPOGENY.—THE FIRST MAN.

183. Man rules over the rest of the world (*tubâno mehim raçinitano afûnîk çtîh*).[1] He was the last of the creations of Aûharmazd, and the Evil Spirit has never been able to create a being in opposition to him.[2]

The Mazdayasnian anthropogeny is of the most eccentric kind. The human race is not only descended from the primeval man, Gâyômart, from whom the metals are also derived (§ 161), but it has also passed through a vegetable existence before being constituted in its present state.

184. Man was in fact the work of the sixth epoch of the creation.[3] Aûharmazd formed Gâyômart, a solitary male human being, from the earth.[4] He was white, brilliant-looking as the sun.[5] He had three characteristics, viz. life, speech and mortality. The first two were communicated to him by Aûharmazd, the last is owing to the influence of Aharman. The whole of mankind has inherited these characteristics by its descent from Gâyômart.[6]

He and the primeval ox were the only living beings on earth during the first 3,000 years. Both of them lived in peace and happiness till the commencement of the millennium of the constellation of Libra. Then Aharman attacked and overwhelmed them with evils during 30 years, and at length put them to death.[7] Gâyômart, while succumbing under the blows of his adversary, predicted that mankind

---

[1] Dk., II., 77, 2.
[2] Spiegel, EA., II, 145.
[3] BD., i., 28.
[4] Dk., II., 80, 3.
[5] BD., xxiv., 1.
[6] Dk., II, 80, 3.
[7] BD., xxxiv., 1, 2; iii, 20-24.

would be born of him.[1] Then he bequeathed his body very justly (*mch dâestânihâ*) to Aharman.[2]

II.—VEGETABLE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACES.

185. Gâyômart while dying dropped his *semen*, which was purified by the light of the sun. Two-thirds of it were absorbed by the earth.[3] Forty years after, it produced two human beings under the form of a plant (the *rivâs*),[4] having only one stem, fifteen leaves, and of 15 years of age. These two beings, Mâshya and Mâshyôi (otherwise Matrô and Matrôyâô), were united together at the middle, in such a manner that it was impossible to know which was the male and which the female. It was not either known if they possessed reason (sense, *nismô*).[5] Then they passed from the vegetable form to the human one; the reasoning faculty (sense) which is the soul (*nismô mûn aît rûbân*) spiritually entered into them.[6]

We give below the comments of Windischmann on this curious legend[7]:—

"The plant with a single stem is the type of the unique origin of the two sexes, or of their original inseparableness. The stem is aged fifteen years, for this is the perfect age assigned to Gâyômart himself. It has fifteen leaves, for an equal number of human races inhabited the *Kêshvars*. The plant appeared after forty years, for that is the normal age of generation in the *Var*. ...Mâshya and Mâshyôî

[1] BD., iii, 23.

[2] MK., xxvii., 14. Mankind could not have been formed from his body if he had not died, yielding to the attacks of the Evil Spirit.

[3] BD., xv., 1; Dk., II., 80, 4.

[4] According to West this is "a plant allied to the rhubarb, the shoots of which supply an acid juice used by the Persians for acidulating preserves and drinks." According to Windischmann it is the *rheum ribes*.

[5] BD., xv., 2, 3; cf. West, n.

[6] BD., xv., 5.

[7] As to the traditions of other nations relating to the vegetable origin of man, cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 214, 215.

were twins, like Yama and Yamî in the Vedas, like Yima and his sister in the *Bûn-dehesh* (xxiii., 1; xxxi., 4), which derives its information from more ancient sources."[1]

186. Another plant was formed resembling this one: it produced ten races of monstrous and fabulous men, as the cynocephalus, winged men, men having tails and others; but all of them were the issues of the *semen* of Gâyomart.[2] Those 'of the forests having tails and hairy bodies' are undoubtedly the great quadrumana, like the gorilla of Africa. Besides other cases of relationship between men and some inferior animals were admitted. The Pehlevi version of the *Vendidâd* also asserts that "all that which appertains to the monkey (*kâpâk*) is precisely like (that which appertains to) man."[3] Elsewhere the monkey, bear and negro are grouped together as degraded human races, issued from the intercourse between men and evil spirits,—devs, drûjs and parîks.[4]

III.—EARLIEST GENEALOGIES.

187. The remarkable legend of Mâshya and Mâshyôî has been expounded and commented upon at full length by Windischmann and Spiegel.[5] We shall therefore be content with a cursory examination of the most salient points of the extraordinary account.

(i) As soon as the two beings obtained their soul or sense, Aûharmazd spoke to them. He declared them to be perfectly created, and commanded them to obey the Law with good thoughts, words, and deeds. After which, both tried to please each other and declared aloud Aûharmazd as the Creator of all the creatures. They covered their bodies with grass (*giyâh*), and had no need of food but drank only water.[6]

---

[1] *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 216, 217.

[2] BD., xv., 5, 31 and n. of West. One may compare the fabulous races mentioned by Ctesias and Scylax and the Hindus.

[3] Vend., v., 107, mentioned by West.

[4] BD., xxiii.

[5] *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 215-231. EA., I. 511-514.

[6] BD., xv., 6, 7; cf. xxx., 1.

(ii) Afterwards enmity took possession of their minds. The Evil Spirit got hold of their souls and induced them to say—what was untrue—that the earth and all the beings were created by him (Aharman). Then they went forth into the wilderness, where having found a she-goat, they began to milk her. Milk was thus the first human food,[1] and for that reason it is always the best of all foods.[2]

(iii) The taste of this animal food induced them to utter a falsehood a second time; and after thirty days and nights the two beings came across a fat sheep, which they killed and ate. At the same time they found the means of producing fire by friction from the wood (of the *kûnâr*[3] and of the box tree); but it is very remarkable that, although driven by evil instinct at that time, they were still directed by the celestial Yazds in the production of fire. By means of this fire, which was nourished by grass and the leaves of several aromatic plants, they roasted the sheep. They offered a portion of it to the fire and a portion to the Yazds. On this very occasion they covered themselves with garments of skin, and a little after they learned to weave garments in the wilderness (according to West they perhaps wove the wool of the sheep?).[4] They also found the iron by digging in the earth, they hammered it and made it into tools, with which they built a hut (*pèsh-khûr*) of wood.[5] Here is an entire epoch of the history of development of the human race digested into a few years.

(iv) This third stage was followed by bloody struggles between these two primeval human beings. Even the dêvs succeeded in persuading them to make offerings to the arch-

[1] BD., xv., 10. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 221.

[2] MK., xvi., 4-12.

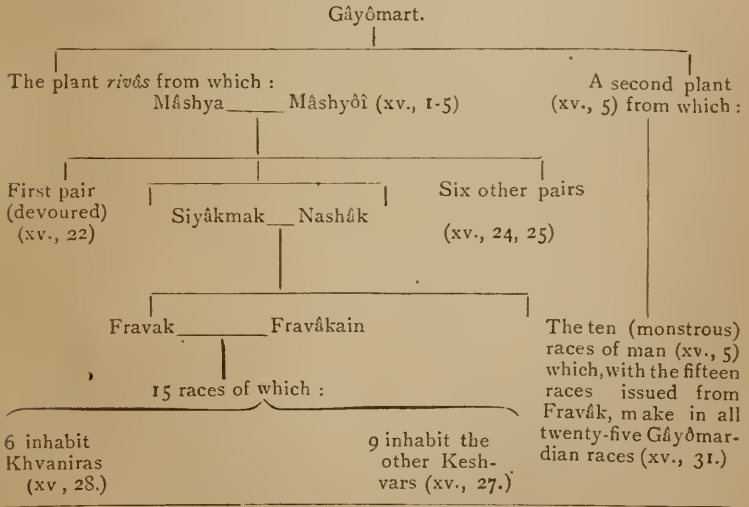
[3] "A thorny tree allied to the Jujube and bearing a small plum-like fruit."—West.

[4] Windischmann translates quite otherwise: sie ginge nâuf die Jagd der Thiere, jener Thiere von welchem man Kleider macht, p. 222. ["They went a-hunting animals, those animals, from which garments are made."—Tr].

[5] BD., xv., 11-16.

demon. They lived without concupiscence till the end of their fiftieth year. This was owing to the influence of the Evil Spirit, who does not at all like the propagation of mankind.[1] At the end of fifty years they drew nearer to each other and knew at the same time that it had been their duty to do so even in the past fifty years. After nine months a pair of children was born unto them.[2] They devoured these first-born children.[3] But Aûharmazd deprived them of this unnatural taste. Then, during seven years, seven pairs of children were again born unto them, who were to each other as brother and sister, husband and wife. From the first couple, Syâkmak and Nashâk, are descended the fifteen human races who inhabit the seven *kêshvars*.

188. It seems that the six other couples had no children, for the very explicit genealogy of the *Bûn-dehesh*[4] can be represented in the following table:—



[1] Dk., II., 80, 5. [2] BD., xxxiv., 3; xv., 20, 21.

[3] BD., xv., 22. West supports his translation, against Justi and Windischmann, by a very explicit quotation from a Pehlevi *Rivâyet*: "*Máshya va Máshyôî...nazdisto farzand-i nafshman barâ vashtamund.*" PT., I., p. 57, n.

[4] BD., xv., 24-31.

Of these fifteen races, being too numerous, six remained in Khvaniras and nine migrated on the back of the mystic ox Çarçaok to the six other Kêshvars.[1]

189. We have thought it necessary to give this sketch of the origin of human life according to the Mazdeism of the period which we are now discussing. The position occupied by man in the scale of the creation stands out more clearly from this investigation, and the foundations of the ethics of the system appear distinctly. The principal points of it are therefore: (i) the original unity of the race, (ii) the moral nature of man, (iii) his original innocence, (iv) his fall by the influence of the demons, and (v) his successive progress in the arts of life.

IV.—THE CONSTITUTION OF MAN—THE BODY—PHYSIOLOGICAL NOTIONS.

190. We must now pass on to a more minute examination of the human constitution, under its physical and psychological aspects.

Man is essentially of double nature, material and spiritual, body and soul.[2] We may recall the very formal texts quoted above (§§ 84, 85), where the human compound and its dissolution at the time of death are discussed. It is said therein that death is nothing else than the separation of the two parts of the compound, the spiritual part (*gôhar*) which is immortal, and the material part or body (*tanû*) which ceases to exist and to act.

191. The body is created after the soul (rûbân), and to act as an instrument to the soul already created. The soul is introduced therein to give it activity.[3] The body is wholly material; its elements are three in number as in the bodies of all other animals,—water, fire and wind.[4] It is for this reason

[1] BD., xv., 27, 28.

[2] Dk., iv., 137, 5.

[3] BD., xv., 4.

[4] SLS., viii., 4. In the system of Mazdak also there were only three elements, but they were water, fire and earth. Spiegel, EA., III., 233.

that the Creator, Aûharmazd, commanded Ardâ-i Virâf to proclaim to the faithful His *memento homo quia pulvis*: "Be ye aware of this, that the cattle are dust (afrâ), the horse is dust, gold and silver are dust, and the body of man is dust."[1] The body, developed through generation, which springs from the union of the male and female *semen*,[2] is formed as an embryo in the womb of the mother; and a soul, belonging to the spiritual world, enters therein and directs the body during the whole of life.[3] In the interval the embryo is nourished and its members are formed and developed by the Spirit of Wisdom.[4]

The air circulates in the body as it circulates in this material world; [5] it is purified by the action of the *fravâhar*: it is necessary for the health of the body.[6]

192. We have seven senses (*turjamân*).[7] However, six only are mentioned by names, *viz.*, sight, hearing, taste, smell, feeling, and the tongue. The first five communicate the impressions from the exterior (*bîrûno*) to 'the master of the house' (*katak khûtâi*), *i.e.*, to the soul; the sixth expresses the thoughts, knowledge and desires of 'the master of the house' (soul) to the exterior.[8]

193. As we have seen in the preceding chapter health depends upon the harmony of the corporeal elements. It is Aharman and his demons, who introduce diseases in the body, disturbing its proportions.[9] It is for this reason that the body

---

[1] AVN., ci., 20.

[2] See BD., xvi., where the physiological reasons are given. The milk proceeds from the male *semen*, and blood from the female one.

[3] BD., xvii., 9.

[4] MK., lvii., 11.

[5] DK., II., 93.

[6] DK., III, 123.

[7] Lit. 'interpreters.' Peshotun reads the word as *tûlimân* or *tûrimân*, and gives it an impossible derivation from the Sanskrit. See his edition of the *Dinkart*, I, Glossary.

[8] DK., I., 60, 3.

[9] DK., IV., 157, 50.

depends chiefly upon the soul, as the latter in its turn depends upon the health of the body.[1] The maxim '*mens sana in corpore sano*' has always been one of the favourite sayings of Mazdeism.

The principles which originate diseases in the body are called cold, dryness, evil odour, putrefaction, hunger, thirst, old age, and grief (*bêsh*).[2] It is by acting on the blood that cold and dryness derange health and compromise the vitality of the body.[3] Heat and humidity, on the contrary, keep up health and cure the body.[4] The influence of the evil eye (*dûsh cashmîh*) was also believed in, and there was a special demon for it.[5] On the other hand, mention is made of the beneficent influence of the good eye (*hûcashmîh*)[6] These diseases will last only till the time of *frûshkêrêto*, the final resurrection.[7]

194. On the death of a man the soul is separated from the body which is then mingled with the dust (Parsi *khâkî*).[8] If the souls, as they are in heaven and hell, still possess bodies, they are rather fantastic bodies[9] made expressly for their stay in these places of reward and punishment, because it is only at the time of *frashkêrêto* that the bodies will rise up again from the dust. Though the elements of the bodies

---

[1] DK., IV., 157, 14, 24, 25, also 37, 11, 12.

[2] DK., IV., 157, 42.

[3] Ibid., 157, 49, 50.

[4] Ibid., 162.

[5] BD., xxviii., 14. This effect of the eye is called *zanino* = a blow wound, in Dk. IV, 157, 15.

[6] DK., I, 56, 6.

[7] DK. IV., 157, 43. For all these Mazdean theories of physiology and medicine, the reader may now refer to my separate study on the subject. *Traité de Mèdecine Mazdéenne traduit du Pehlevi et commenté*, Louvain, 1886, where the subject is discussed in *extenso*. I have tried to show that the very long chapter 157 of DK. is an entire medical treatise absorbed into that important work.

[8] MK., i., 22.

[9] AVN., *passim*.

will be then dispersed by wind and water, yet Aûharmazd will gather them up as easily as he has formed them in the womb of the mother.[1] And if the body will be punished, it will be on account of the sins of the soul.[2]

V.—PSYCHOLOGICAL NOTIONS.

195. The spiritual part of man is the subject of predilection of the Pehlevi treatises. They sometimes seem to understand everything under the name of 'soul,' as in our terminology. Thus the body and soul are the integral parts of Mâshya and Mâshyôî;[3] and these two parts are very often opposed to each other.[4] But several spiritual faculties or powers are very often mentioned, and the soul is said to be one of them. The number of these faculties varies in a very remarkable manner. Mention is made of 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, and sometimes even more. Nothing is more variable than these lists, as we shall now see.

196. (*a*) The most extensive list is in the *Dinkart*. We give below the enumeration of all the powers or psychical operations together with their definitions as mentioned in that work:[5]

(1) Wisdom (*farjânakîh*), that is to say, the knowledge of final ends, derived from knowledge of the religion.

(2) Development (*afzûnîkîh*), which produces many things out of one only.

(3) Knowledge (*dânâkîh*), which distinguishes one thing from many.

(4) Discernment (*shnâçkîh*), the knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of everything.

(5) Faith and Belief (*mehim mônîshno va hemnunîshno*), or the intelligence of things appertaining and not appertaining to life.

---

[1] BD., xxx., 5, 6. Cf. § 39.
[2] DK., IV., 137, 19.
[3] BD., xv., 4, 5.
[4] MK., i., 22; xlviii., 10; DK., IV., 137; BD., xvii., 9, &c.
[5] DK., IV., 146, 147.

(6) Reasoning (*vîr*), the faculty of understanding the aim of things.

(7) Sense (*hôsh*), which supports the instrumentality in the inner part of the body.

(8) Intelligence (*kharto*), which examines and chooses.

(9) Thought (*mînishno*), which guides the faculties through reflection.

(10) Speech (*gûbishno*), which reveals what is concealed in man and describes the invisible powers.

(11) Action (*kûnishno*), the result of the guidance by the instrumentality of the corporeal powers.

Desire (*kâm*), passion (*cîharîh*) and religion (*dîno*) are later on added to them.

This is certainly a very obscure enumeration. We can compare with it the following, which is found in the *Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast*.[1]

197. (*b*) The eleven elements of spirit are: life, conscience, religion, soul, fravâhar, thought, speech, action, seeing, smelling and hearing. We are surprised to find in the above list some of the corporeal senses and even not all the senses.

(*c*) Peshotun in a note to his edition of the Dinkart[2] gives also a traditional list of eleven faculties, which is of some consequence for comparing with that which we have just quoted. They are: 1 Innate wisdom *(açno khart)*, 2 acquired wisdom (*gôshânçrût khart*), 3 reasoning (*vîr*), 4 sense (*hôsh*), 5 natural disposition (*hêm*), 6 contentment (*khûrçandîh*), 7 religion (*dîno*), 8 hope (*hûmêt*), 9 nature (*ahû*, or *akho*, the practical conscience, das Gewissen), 10 consciousness (*bôî*), and 11 *fravâhar*. The learned Destur does not mention the source of this list.

198. (*d*) Five faculties are very often mentioned. Thus the *Dinkart* enumerates:[3] 1 consciousness (*bôî*). In a pas-

[1] SIS., xiii., 4.

[2] Vol. 1, p. 44.—We have thought it necessary to correct the transcription and the translation of several terms.

[3] DK., 1, 60.

sage, attributed to the '*Ganj-i Shâyagân*' of Abujarcha Meher (*Vajrag Mihr*), the minister of Khosrav Anôsharavân, the Sassanian king,[1] it is said that consciousness is a faculty which knows better (*âkâçtar.*)[2] In another passage of the *Dinkart* it is compared to a lamp and to the sun.[3] Then follows: 2 Reasoning (*vîr*), 3 sense (*hôsh*), 4 wisdom (*khart*) and 5 nature (*ahû*, or *akhô*=judgment.)

(*e*) The *Mainyo-i Khard* for its part mentions 1 sense (*hôsh*), 2 reasoning (*vîr*), 3 the *semen* (*tûkhm*), as having their place in the brain and depending upon the condition of the brain;[4] 4 wisdom (*khart*), which abides in the heart; 5 the soul (*ravân*), which 'occupies the whole body just as the foot fills up the boot.'[5]

(*f*) Elsewhere four faculties are attributed to the soul corresponding to the four elements of the body.[6] Their names are not mentioned, but Destur Peshotun gives them in his note, viz. the vital principle (*ján*), consciousness (*bôi*), judgment (*akho*) and the *fravâhar*.

(*g*) In another passage of the same work 'six faculties of life' (*Zavarâno-i khayâ*) are mentioned, viz. action, speech, thought, reasoning (*vîr*), sense (*hôsh*) and wisdom (*kharto*).[7]

199. Further on it speaks about the three powers of the soul, viz. *vîr, hôsh,* and *khart*. Besides, the soul and the *fravâhar* are called the two spiritual parts of man; and then there is mention of the *vakhsh,* which is connected with those two. This is probably the principle of growth or of vitality.[8]

---

[1] The 'Treasure of Princes,' since published, Pehlevi text with Gujarati and English versions, Glossary, etc.; by Peshotun, Bombay and Leipzig, 1885.

[2] See also *Ganj-i Shâyagân*, §§ 14-26.

[3] Quoted by Peshotun in his note, vol. 1, p. 56.

[4] MK., xlviii., 4-7.

[5] MK., xlviii., 8-10.

[6] DK., IV., 157, 55.

[7] DK., II., 81, 5.

[8] DK., III., 123.

Similar doctrines are found in the religious systems of both Mâni and Mazdak, both of whom flourished under the Sassanides.[1]

From the post-Sassanian writers we know that they distinguished five faculties ; *jân* or the vital principle, *akho* or judgment, *revân* or soul, *bôî* or consciousness and *frôhar*[2] or four faculites : soul (*ravân*), sense (*hôsh*), consciousness (*bôî*) and *frôhar*.[3]

200. From these numerous quotations the reader must have now inferred : (i) that the Mazdayasnian philosophers were very fond of making psychological distinctions as to the spiritual elements of the human compound. (ii) That they had not however very fixed principles in their divisions, and thus their analyses varied greatly. (iii) That the terms cited, though we have tried to translate them by identical terms in our language, had probably not always the same sense in every treatise or in every passage.

201. If we now try to arrange in some order these several data, we shall be tempted first of all to agree with Spiegel in admitting, on the authority of more recent texts, the existence of certain forces in the human compound, which did not belong to the individual soul, and which consequently did not undergo the responsibility for the acts of the soul, and which on death separated themselves from the compound in order to return to heaven.[4] Such a case seems to be that of the *akho*, a very mysterious power, which rather recalls to our mind the δαιμων of Socrates, because it must warn both body and soul to act virtuously and to avoid evil. It is not easy to make a distinction between it and the *ahû*. The latter, which designates nature, is written exactly like *akhô*

[1] Spiegel, EA., II., 228, 234, Mazdak distinguishes four faculties, viz. discernment (die Unterscheidung), intelligence (die Einsicht), memory (das Gedächtniss), and joyfulness (die Freude).

[2] *Sad-dar Bundehesh*, according to Spiegel, TL. p. 174.

[3] UI., p. 7 (Vuller's Translation, p. 61.)

[4] EA., II., 228, 92.

The *jân* or vital force, according to the same Eranist, is the element most intimately connected with the body, and therefore it is destroyed on the dissolution of the latter. The three parts which remain together, viz. the soul, sense (*bôî*) and *fravâhar* must obtain the reward for their merits and chastisement for their crimes.[1] The *fravâhar*, adds Spiegel, seems to be the intermediate part, 'der vermittelnde Theil,' between the soul and the body, and to possess a distinct personality.[2]

202. We are here once more brought back to the presence of these mysterious beings of the Eranian philosophy. We have already discussed in Chap. III. the nature of the *fravahars* considered as members of the spiritual world (§§ 113-120). We have seen from our authorities that these spirits have existed like the Platonic ἰδέαι, before the creation of the individuals for whom they are destined; and that it is by their own wish that they enter into the bodies. They are closely united with the souls during life. It is the duty of the *fravâhar* to purify (*hûshtâvinîh*) the air in the body by means of fire, and thus to maintain life.[3] This trait recalls its part in the post-Sassanian writings, where it has become a mere principle of digestion![4]

203. The word *bôî* (according to West and Peshotun *bôd*), which we have translated as 'consciousness,' seems to mean the internal reflex or sentiment by which a man knows himself ('das Bewusstsein,' according to Spiegel). He

---

[1] [According to the Avestaic philosophy only the soul seems to be responsible for its actions and to obtain reward for its merits and chastisement for its sins, while the *fravashi* or *fravâhar* seems to be irresponsible. The business of the *fravashi* in connection with man in this world is only to guide the soul aright, turning it aside from evil actions and leading it to the path of heaven. Cf. Dastur Dr. Jamaspji Minocheherji, *Lecture on Fróhar*, (Bombay, 1874), p.4— Tr.]

[2] EA., II., 92.

[3] DK., III., 123. The word *hûshtâvinih* is perhaps from *hosh* = death, and *tavâ*,= destroyed? Is it the animal heat?

[4] In the *Sad-dar Bûndehesh*, cf. Spiegel, TL., p. 174.

who is dead is said to be separated from the body and the *bôî*,[1] which seems to be contrary to the doctrine of the *Saddar Bûndehesh* quoted by Spiegel. On the death of man, the *bôî* passes at first to the nearest fire, then to the stars, to the moon and finally to the sun.[2]

204. The faculties properly called intellectual are the *khart*, *vîr* and *hôsh*.

In our first chapter we have spoken of the *khart* considered as the Divine Wisdom, the being who holds his place near God. But there is also a human *khart:* the faculty of intelligence in man. This intelligence comprises the innate intelligence (*açno khart*) and the acquired intelligence (*gôsh-ançrût khart*).[3] The innate intelligence is the source, the foundation of knowledge (*dânâkîh bûn*).[4] The (acquired) intelligence 'commences in the marrow of the finger,'—that is to say, from experience of the material world, —and then settles itself in the heart.[5] The innate intelligence expresses outwardly what exists in the interior of the being. The acquired intelligence communicates to the interior what is outside.[6]

205. All the sources agree in representing the *Vîr* as the faculty of reason or deduction. *Hôsh* is generally associated with *vîr*. Is it perhaps the memory or rather prudence, the practical good sense, like the *hôsh* of the modern Persian, which would explain the fact that makes man the possessor and protector of force (*aôjo dâstâr va pâtdâr*)?[7] Wine moderately taken not only assists the digestion and the animal heat and increases the seed and blood, but also augments the *vîr* and *hôsh*; whilst drunk excessively it

---

[1] MK., ii., 156.
[2] SlS., xii., 5 (quoted) from the *Dâmdâd Nosk*.
[3] Dk., II., 81, 4.
[4] Dk., III., 109, 4.
[5] MK., xlvii., 8, 9. Cf. DK., III., 109, 5.
[6] DK., I., 63, 2.
[7] Ibid., 60, 2.

lessens them.[1] Nobody can buy the *vîr* and *hôsh* at any price, as nobody can rob us of our knowledge and talent (*farhang va khunar*). One can never be quite satisfied with knowledge (*dânâi*); wisdom (*khart*) makes all those who possess it satisfied and contented.[2] We see that psychological terms are not here wanting, so much so that we are often at a loss to know how to translate them.

206. Religion (*dîno*) is continually mentioned among the spiritual elements or faculties. This word indicates religion not only in its objective sense,—which was individualised as existing with God from the beginning, created with Vohûman and Wisdom,[3]—but also in its subjective sense,—piety or the religious spirit.

207. We are surprised not to find in these psychological enumerations any mention made of Free Will, the supreme faculty of the human soul. It is only in the *Dinkart* that we find any precise notions about this faculty. It is said therein that man is distinguished from the other creatures by this that he is the master of his wishes (*kâm khûtâi*). It is in this sense that the Avestaic term *ahûi açt* (*i.e. aṅhus açtvâo*) is interpreted[4] as 'the lord of the corporeal world' (*khûtâi tanû homand*). Thus he has the power of governing himself the power which the rest of the material creation has not.[5] Paul the Persian has already informed us that there were some philosophers in his time who denied the Free Will of man.[6]

---

[1] MH., xvi., 40.

[2] MK., xl., 19–22.

[3] See chap. III., § 93.

[4] For example, Yas., xix., 24; Vd., i., 4; xv., 1, &c. These words signify 'the corporeal world.' It is curious to note how they have by this time lost their real signification.

[5] DK., IV., 174, 2. The same idea seems to be expressed by the words: *az Yazdâno aivak khûtâi, anshûtâ*, which we would translate: 'except God, the only master is man.' We have already referred to Peshotun's translation of it in § 24.

[6] Chap. I., § 1.

208. The fatalist doctrine that every man has his star (*çtar*), which he must obey in the same manner as he obeys his other superiors, is found only in the *Mainyo-i Khard*,[1] whose tendencies we know well enough.

VI.—MEN AND DEMONS.

209. Though there are men created by the Evil Spirit,[2] yet men can become dêvs by their crimes. Thus Afrâsyâb has become a dêv and for that reason he will not be saved at the end of creation.[3] Those very wicked beings, who have only the name of humanity, whose actions are all bad, and who understand neither virtue nor sin, are called 'demi-dêvs.'[4] There are also demi-dêvs properly so called, produced from the intercourse of men and demons. For these demi-dêvs there will be no resurrection, for on account of their demoniacal origin they are themselves called dêvs, and for that reason they are not immortal.[5] It is the same with those who commit sodomy and apostasy. The souls of such men will become respectively dêvs and serpents, and shall therefore deserve to be destroyed. From this we see that the Eranians had no very clear notion of the spirituality of the dêvs, nor of the essential difference between human nature and that of the dêvs.

---

[1] MK., xxxix., 40.

[2] Ezing rightly ridicules the Mazdayasnians of his time for believing in the animals hurtful to men as created by Aharman, and not men who are more injurious to animals. *Réfutation des Sectes*, II., 11 (Translation of Levaillant de Florival, 1853).

[3] Dk., III., 110, 13.

[4] MK., xlii., 12-16.

[5] SIS., xvii., 7.

CHAPTER VI.

ETHICS.

210. If the Mazdayasnian writers were fond of psychological distinctions, they were still fonder of ethical problems. The quantity of materials gathered for this chapter is so considerable, that we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to a very rapid summary, leaving aside a great deal of these data.

Among all other non-Christian religions, the Mazdayasnian religion can justly boast of having the soundest, the highest and the most reasonable system of ethics. Yet along with this eulogium, it must not be forgotten that some eccentric and ridiculous elements are also found in it,—chiefly in what regards the legal purifications. Again we shall also meet with certain notions scarcely reconcilable with true morality, as for example, the striking instance of the *khvêtûk-daç*, which will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

I.—Bases of Ethics.

(*a*)—*Intellectual Nature of Man.*

211. The bases of morality are in the intellectual nature and consequently in the Free Will of Man. This is the reason why infants who can not yet exercise their reason, as well as the insane, are irresponsible.[1] The age of reason has no fixed limit; it varies between seven[2] and eight[3] years, for before this age 'sin does not take root' (*vanâç fratûmca val bûn lâ yehevûnît*).[4] The reason for this is that without intelligence or sense (*hôsh*) one can neither lean towards

---

[1] Dk., III., 110. 13.

[2] Ibid., 14.

[3] AVN. In the Persian translation (of the MS. H 28, quoted by Haug, p. xvi.).

[4] Dk., IV., 170, 2.

good nor towards evil.[1] And the soul is only judged by its natural desires and by its faculties of knowledge and learning.[2]

(*b*)—*Action of the Evil Spirit.*

212. Man is naturally created good.[3] If he does evil and obeys Aharman, it is on account of his being ignorant of the nature of the latter.[4] Why does not man then perceive with his intellectual powers the nature and deceit of the Evil Spirit? It is because Aharman blinds his intelligence, concealing from his eyes the future reward of virtue and punishment of sin.[5] We have already seen in the history of the fall of Mâshya and Mâshyôî, how they were induced by degrees, both by the temptations of the demons and by the weakness of their appetite, to eat animal food, to be angry with each other, and lastly to deny God and to offer sacrifices to the demons, forgetting even that God had created them and all other things.[6] The same is the case with every sinner.

213. Aharman wishes chiefly to gain the soul of man. This is the greatest damage which he can do him.[7] Aûharmazd has revealed to Zartûsht that it is better for one in this life to cause his body to be lean and hungry and to have his soul fat in heaven, than to make the body fat here and thereby his soul lean and famished in hell.[8] *Qui odit animam suam in hoc mundo, in vitam aeternam conservet eam!* For righteousness is the *unum necessarium* and heaven (*garôtmân*) is the only thing which has any worth.[9] This

---

[1] Dk., IV., 136.
[2] Dk., III., 79.
[3] Ibid, 105.
[4] MK., xl., 26-28.
[5] MK., xiii.
[6] See chap IV., § 187.
[7] MK, xlvi., 4. 5, cf. also i., 27-29 (the quotation from a lost portion of the Avesta).
[8] BY., ii., 56.
[9] SIS., xi., 3.

world must be regarded as nothing (*lôîto*).[1] This world and everything that exists in it is worth only for the welfare of the other world, *i. e.*, the spiritual world.[2]

(*c*)—*The Spiritual Combat.*

214. There is a real spiritual combat, an incessant warfare, which is being waged in all ages between the Good and the Evil, in which every man must take his part, as this world is only a place of trial.[3] The cause (*kâr*) of this struggle of the worlds (*gehâno rajam*) is the Spirit of Evil Knowledge (*dush-âkâç*); he who brings it to an end is the Spirit of Wisdom (*Dânâk mînôi*); the Creator, Aûharmazd, is the general who directs everything (*râçnak*). The field of battle (*gâç*) is the intermediate space of the two rivals in the combat, which extends up to the stellar heaven (*gâç-i gûmikhtano i men ham-âçtâr kûshishnîkân vad çtar-pâyak*). The whole material creation (*çtîh dahishnân*) takes part in it. The commander (*çardâr*) among men is either a superior being, a good, virtuous king (*hû-khûtâi dâçupato*), or a Destur well-versed in law (*hû-dânâk dîno Daçtobar*). He who delivers men from the battle is also the holy spiritual director (*ratû-i ahrûbo*), and he who causes them to perish (*yemîtûntano*) in this battle is wicked (*darvand*).[4]

215. Pursuing this same image, the Spirit of Wisdom counsels us to take up a spiritual armour: The Spirit of Contentment as a coat of mail (*zareh*), the Spirit of Truth as a buckler, the Spirit of Thankfulness as a club, the Spirit of Devotion (*bûñda maneshni*) as a bow, the Spirit of Liberality as an arrow, the Spirit of Moderation as a javelin, and the Spirit of Perseverance as a gauntlet. The Spirit of Wisdom will be our support and the Spirit of Destiny our protection.[5]

---

[1] Dk., I., 56, 3.
[2] Dk., IV., 137.
[3] Dk., IV., 17, 4.
[4] Dk., III., 124.
[5] MK., xlii. The comparison of this passage with St. Paul, Eph. vi. 14—17 has not escaped the commentators.

216. Three kinds of enemies attack us: the spiritual enemies who are the dêvs and drûjs, our passions (*pavan cîhar*), and corporeal enemies.[1] Are these not the three adversaries of Christianity, viz. the devil, the flesh and the world? It must be remembered that the corporeal enemies are only those who cause us a material wrong, such as the worshippers of dêvs (*dêva yaçno*), wolves and *khrafçtars*; because the Mazdayasnians did not distinguish moral evil from physical one.

The temptations of the demons that prompt men to do evil commence from the time when the faculty of thought is developed in the child.[2]

(*d*)—*Destiny.*

217. The above are certain moral notions that correspond exactly with our own. We must not be surprised if in a work like the *Mainyo-i Khard* we come across some fatalistic doctrines irreconcilable with the principles enunciated. We have seen that similar contradictions occur elsewhere, for example in what concerns the nature of God. Thus this book teaches that it is impossible to contend with Destiny even with the assistance of wisdom and knowledge; since "when there is predestination (*brehineshn*)[3] for good or for evil, the wise man becomes foolish, and the foolish becomes wise in action; the coward becomes courageous, and the courageous becomes a coward; and the industrious becomes lazy, and the lazy becomes industrious: just as it is predestined for a certain thing, the cause enters into that thing."[4] On the other hand it is said that though no exertion can

---

[1] Dk., I., 48.

[2] Dk., IV., 170, 3.

[3] Cf. the word *breh*, quoted in our chap. I., § 7.

[4] MK., xxiii. The Armenian historian Eznig quotes a passage more similar to this as the doctrine of the Persians of his time (in the 6th century). *Réfutation des Sectes*, II., 15.

prevail against Destiny in this world, yet it will not remain unfruitful,—it will outweigh in the balance (*pa tarâzha*) of deeds in our favour in the future life.[1]

218. It is in the same order of notions that this work teaches that though the good deeds done unwittingly by man have no merit, the sins committed unwittingly remain as sins.[2]

It is needless to add that these fatalistic notions are not found in the other writings of the period ; that they were current among the Mazdayasnians under the Sassanian kings is certain, and we have a formal testimony of it in the contemporary Armenian writer, often quoted above.

II.—CLASSIFICATION OF VIRTUES AND VICES.

(*a*)—Virtues and Good Deeds.

(ii.)—*General Lists.*

219. The enumerations and classifications of the virtues and vices are often met with and even developed at length in our authorities. We shall mention some of them.

Sometimes the virtues (*hûnâr*) and the good deeds (*kerfak, hûkûnishn*) are arranged in the order of value. Thus the following list is arranged according to the excellence of the virtues: 1 Liberality, 2 veracity, 3 practice of *khvetûk-daç*, 4 celebration of the season festivals (*gahambârs*), 5 observation of the ritual, 6 the worship of God, 7 erection of caravanserais for merchants, 8 kindness towards everybody, 9 friendliness towards the good.[3] We see that these are almost all external acts.

220. Much more elevated is the enumeration in another chapter : "kindness towards every one, thankfulness unto God and the good, continual meditation on the creative power of

---

[1] MK., xxii.
[2] MK., i., 25, 26.
[3] MK., iv.

Aûharmazd and the malice of Aharman, firm belief in the existence of God, and also in the religion, the soul and heaven, and in the judgment, the resurrection and a future life."

This is what is called "the most essential good work (*kerba*), which is the greatest, the best, the most precious, the most advantageous of all good works, and which can be accomplished without trouble or expense.[1]

The two most excellent virtues (*hûnârân*) of wisdom (*khart*) again are liberality and love of peace (*›âtîh va âshtîh*). These are the virtues belonging to the na ture of God(*khûtîh yazdân*).[2]

221. Again we read that the virtues (*hûnârân*) which depend upon the innate wisdom (*açno khart*) are six in number:

1 Virtuous (*bûnîk*) thought, without thought of infidelity (*ag-dîno*).

2 Courage (*takîkîh*), without discord (*ashmôkîh*).

3 Industry, without avarice (*ajurîh*).

4. Contentment, without idleness (*ashêshânîh*).

5. Love of Wisdom (*khart-dôshakîh*), without egotism (*khût-dôshakîh*).

6. Research of knowledge (*pûrçitârîh dânishnîh*), without illegal research (*arûnak bavîhûnishnîh*).

These virtues form three pairs of daughters (*ham-dôkhto*) of wisdom; and he who has through perseverance (*awâkîh*) attained to these three couples of means is a superior possessor (*avartar bûrtâr*) of wisdom, the best delivered from sin (*bôkhtaktar*) and the most sublime (*bûrjîshniktar*).[3]

222. The practice (*varjîh*) of the good Law embraces liberality, veracity, gratitude, obedience (*aîrya*), modesty

[1] MK., lxiii.
[2] Dk., IV., 141, 2.
[3] Dk., II., 74, 4.

(*sharm*), contentment (*khorçandîh*), perseverance (? *khvâparîh*),[1] justice (*dâto*), 'and the other virtues.'[2]

223. It is interesting to compare with this the commencement of a list of thirty-three good works (*kerba*) given in the *Mainyo-i Khard*, by which one attains to heaven.[3] These are: liberality, veracity, gratitude and contentment (*qarçandî*); then come the desire of doing good to the good and of being a friend to everybody, firmness of faith in the creative power of Aûharmazd, in the malice of Aharman, in the resurrection of the dead and the future life; the practice of *khvêtûdaç*, astrology, industry, firm belief in religion, the 'good eye' (*hucasm*) towards the efforts of every one, seeking the favour of the good and appreciation of their virtues. The other good works consisting of the absence of certain evil qualities and vices are negative, with the exception of two or three which are positive.

Let us now examine certain virtues of which special mention is made in our sources.

(ii)—*Special Virtues.*

224. Faith (*avigûmânîh*) or 'want of firm belief' in God (*Yazdân*)[4] and in the creation of the whole world by Aûharmazd and in other dogmas of the religion is often inculcated.[5] The good Mazdayasnian proclaims with emphasis: "I am without the slightest doubt as to the Law (religion) and I believe (*hemnûnam*) in it as Aûharmazd has taught it to Zartûsht."[6]

Love towards the Creator (*kâm val dâtâr*), too, is taught in express terms. It seems to be considered as necessary and sufficient for salvation, except in the case where a man is

[1] Derived from a difficult word which we have spoken of in chap. I., § 31.

[2] Dk., III., 109.

[3] MK., xxxvii; *cf.* Dk. I., 56.

[4] MK., xxxvii., 27; lii., 6; lxiii., 7.

[5] MK., xxxvii., 9, *seqq.*; lxiii., 7; xlii., 6.

[6] *Patêt-i khod*, 28.

deficient in respect of it by some defect of his nature (*ahû*), in which case he is no more responsible for it.[1] The passage which we allude to here we shall have occasion to deal with afterwards from a different point of view.

225. If we turn to the virtues which have to do with our neighbours, we remark first of all the importance attached to liberality (*râtîh*). This importance is clearly perceived from the place assigned to this virtue in the lists mentioned above. Ardâ-i Virâf saw the souls of those who practised liberality in this world elevated above all others in heaven, because Aûharmazd ever exalts them, and they were brilliant, exalted and powerful; and Ardâ-i Virâf cried out: "Happy art thou who art a soul of the liberal (*râtûn*) that is thus above the other souls !"[2]

The deeds of spiritual mercy are also recommended. Thus he who possesses the power of learning and wealth should instruct those who are ignorant in religious matters.[3] A father is bound to reform his children and instruct them.[4]

Honesty (*frârûnîh*) is better than riches.[5] Justice is so great a virtue that a judge who is just is compared to Aûharmazd and to the Ameshoçpands ; whilst an unjust judge is similar to Aharman and the demons.[6]

226. Among the virtues which the priests should practise is the keeping of the five senses in restraint.[7] Every one in his heart must abandon the world and seek rather what is

---

[1] Dk., II., 79.

[2] AVN. xii., 1-6. This tradition is perpetuated to the present day among the Mazdayasnians, for the princely liberality of the wealthy Parsîs of Bombay is something incredible.

[3] Dk., I., 43.

[4] Dk., IV., 170.

[5] MK., xv.

[6] MK., xxxix., 45, 46.

[7] Dk., IV., 157, 15.

spiritual.[1] He must also endure with patience and with a will accept the afflictions that come upon him from Aharman.[2] Every man must hope for heaven; even the sinner must never despair.[3]

Industry is specially praised and is often mentioned, chiefly combined with honesty, as the source of real happiness.[4]

(iii.)—*Duties of the State of Life.*

227. Every state of life has its duties which must be scrupulously discharged. Thus, taking the four classes or professions (*pîshakâno*) into which the people were divided, we are informed that the duties of the *priests* are to preserve the religion, the worship of God, the decrees, traditions and practices of the good Law, the instruction of the people in the matter of virtues and vices. They must also show the way to heaven and keep the world back from hell.

The duties of the *warriors* are to chastise enemies and to keep the people in peace and safety.

The duty of the *agriculturists* is to till the earth.

The duties of the *artisans* are to do their work well and to ask only fair and reasonable wages.[5]

The duties of the rich are also mentioned: It is their business to assist the most indigent and to bring agriculture into a flourishing state. The inferior classes have other obligations.[6]

228. The duties of husband and wife are often mentioned in the vision of Ardâ-i Virâf. It follows from this that the husband should instruct and reform his wife; otherwise he

---

[1] MK., xxxix., 29.

[2] MK., xxxix., 31.

[3] SIS., xii., 28, 29.

[4] MK., l.; Dk. I., 56, 2.

[5] MK., xxxi., xxxii. See Dk., II., 69, 2-5 (this passage is very obscure). In the BD., xix., 35, the five qualities of the priests are treated. See West's note. It is also very interesting to compare the passage of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, xviii., 42-44.

[6] Dk., II., 69, 6.

will be responsible for her faults; whilst the wife should be faithful to her husband and obey and honour him. Her body, life and soul are his; but the husband should furnish her with what is necessary for her life.[1]

229. But it is the duties of the king and those of the subjects towards the king that are most frequently and minutely related. It is chiefly in the *Dinkart* that this subject is treated.

There is, first of all, the praise of the good king. He is like the water on the mountains, which, while flowing from them, spreads fertility. He is like the light on a mountain, which reflects its splendour afar.[2] We give below the nineteen virtues and duties enjoined to a king:

1 The good religion, 2 good wisdom, 3 good natural disposition (*hu ahûih*), 4 beneficence (*hvâparîh*)[3], 5 submission to the commandments of God, 6 good thought, 7 cheerful nature, 8 constant holding in mind 'that sovereignty passeth away,'[4] 9 patronage of the arts, 10 severity towards the wicked, 11 communion of will with the people, 12 just orders, 13 sitting openly at the gate of the city for the dispensation of justice to everybody, 14 liberality, 15 repression of avarice, 16 delivering his subjects from fear, 17 bestowing favours on the good, 18 carefulness in the observation of the conduct of governors, 19 the service of God.[5]

230. It is the duty of a king to extend his protection to his subjects by defending them from every danger; to agriculture and industry, by supplying cattle and implements;

---

[1] AVN., lxviii., lxiii., etc

[2] Dk., III., 133. In Dk., IV., 154, a king is also compared to the cool refreshing water.

[3] For this word, see §§ 31, 222, etc.

[4] King Chosoës Anosharavan must have had this in mind when he spoke his dying discourse, see *Andarj-i Khûsro-i Kavâtân*, ed. Peshotun, Bombay, 1885, which I have translated in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, vol. 1, No. 7, 1887.

[5] Dk., III., 133

to defenceless women and children, and to the old; to hospitals and medicine; to the purity (good perfume *hu bôi*) of the fire, water and earth; and to the preservation of the atmosphere (*pâhrico-i andarvâi*), *i.e.*, to the hygiene, as we should call it.[1]

The prosperity and adversity, the virtues and vices, of the kingdom, depend upon its king, who is responsible for it.[2] This is why a really incapable *(lâ tubâno)* king deserves to be conquered and deprived of his kingdom.[3]

231. The power of the king in return becomes exalted to the highest point, even, it seems, above the religion and conscience.[4] Obedience to the laws of a good king *(aîrîh-i yîn valman hûkhûtâi dâçûpato dâtân)* is declared to be the most beneficial of all human actions (*kûnîshnân-i martûm*)[5]. And the most pleasing to God.

Also the recompenses of a good king in the future life are altogether peculiar.[6] Gôsht-i Fryâno in answer to the eleventh enigma of the demon compares a king with Aûharmazd, and his courtiers with the Ameshoçpands.[7]

The excellence of the union of the glory (*gadmano*)[8] of royalty with the good religion is again praised as very fatal (*shikafttar*) to the Evil Spirit and very beneficial to the Good Spirit[9] Moreover, the reciprocal benefits of the good religion and the royal power are frequently mentioned in the *Dinkart*, and furnish hints of a high value for the determination of the age of this work.

---

[1] Dk., I., 46.
[2] Dk., II., 96.
[3] Ibid., 92.
[4] Dk., IV., 164.
[5] Dk., I., 15.
[6] AVN., ix.
[7] GF., ii., 55-61.
[8] Peshotun is probably right in considering this to be 'the royal splendour,' the ancient *qareno* of the Eranian kings.
[9] Dk., III., 129.

(iv.)—*Good Deeds peculiar to Mazdeism.*

232. We have spoken about the principal virtues and meritorious works which are inculcated in the Pehlevi books. The reader will have certainly formed a very favourable opinion of the level of these Mazdayasnian Ethics. There remain upon this point some notions in which the Eranian mind goes much beyond ours, and even boldly contradicts our principles.

233. Quite a special value is attached to agriculture and to the breeding of cattle. These works are exalted even above the sublimest virtues. Ardâ-i Vîrâf describes fully the splendour and happiness in heaven of the agriculturists (*vâçtryôshân*), shepherds (*shapânân*) and those who labour for the irrigation of the fields and for the tillage of the earth. All of them are in the society of the spirits (*miñôi*)[1] of water and earth, of trees and cattle, and they utter praise and benedictions to them.[2] This importance of agriculture is explained both by the influence of the Avestaic doctrines, from which the Pehlevi traditions are derived, and by the natural requirements of the soil of Eran, which render agriculture and the proper care of cattle necessary in the highest degree for the welfare of the inhabitants.

(v.)—*Khvêtûkdaç.*

234. But among certain doctrines which are sound and reasonable, some even which, according to our notions, are strange, we are surprised to find the approbation given to a custom which is quite inconsistent with our principles of morality. This is the *khvetûkdaç* exalted, as we have already seen, as one of the most holy and meritorious deeds. And yet this is nothing else but incestuous marriage between near relations, even between father and daughter, son and mother, brother and sister! What could be more disgusting to true morality? And how could a religion of so high a nature as Mazdeism inculcate such a practice? These

[1] In Chap. xv., they are the *fravâhars*.

[2] AVN., xiv., xv.

are historical questions that are connected with the Avesta itself. We shall therefore pass them over. The modern Parsis have not retained this practice, nay they even energetically defend their religion from the imputation of having ever taught such a doctrine.

235. After the profound and judicious study of this question by Dr. West in the second volume of his *Pahlavi Texts*,[1] it will be henceforth impossible for the Parsi scholars themselves to deny that the practice of the *khvêtûkdaç* in its strictest sense,—that is to say, the marriage between parents and children, between brothers and sisters,—was taught and vehemently recommended by the Mazdayasnian priests of the Sassanian period and probably also in the time of the Avesta.[2]

[1] PT., II., 389–430.

[2] [Hardly a trace of such a practice as the incestuous marriage between near relations is found in the Avesta. Neither could anything of the sort be inferred from the etymology of the Avestaic term *qaetvadatha*, which is found employed in the Avesta only as a qualifying attribute in some passages. The term *qaetvadatha* is a compound of two words *qaetva* (from *qa* = Sans. स्व = self) = 'one's self, one's own,' hence, 'related, allied,' and *datha* (from *dâ* = to give) = 'a giving,' or 'what is given,' and means 'a giving of one's self, a giving in relationship, self-dedication, devotion.' In Yaç. xii., 9, the term is used as an epithet of the Mazdayasnian religion, and means 'bearing relationship with God' or 'teaching devotion.' In Visp. iii., 3, Yt. xxiv., 17, and Gâh iv., 8, the term is an attribute of *yavana* = youth, and means 'devout.' In Vd., viii., 13, the words *qaetvadathaça qaetvadatheça* are also adjectives qualifying *narâm* and *nâirinâm* and mean 'devout men and women.' Thus the word has no meaning of 'marriage' at all. The words which bear any such meaning in the Avesta are *upa-vâdhaya* (in Vd. iv, 44 and xiv., 15), *vazyamna* (in Yas. liii., 5), and *vadhrê* (in Âbân Yasht, 87). Moreover these passages, which really treat of marriage, do not say anything of such incestuous custom. On the contrary the term *qaetvadatha* implies a highly meritorious and religious action, whose nature, however, is not clearly described. It is therefore quite unjust to accuse the Avesta of inculcating such a sinful practice. (Cf. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, II, Appendix III, pp. 390-392; K. R. Kámá, *Zartoshti Abhiás*, vol. I, p 43; *Zarthosht Námu*, p. 170; and Dârâb Dastur Peshotan Sanjânâ, *The Alleged Practice of Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Iran*, London, 1888, pp. 21-26).—Tr.]

236. It is chiefly in the Dinkart that a long chapter is wholly devoted to an enthusiastic defence of this practice, which it explains and tries to justify by some mythological absurdities. It is indeed strange to find how the Destur, to whom we are indebted for the edition of this work, has struggled to give quite the contrary signification to this chapter,—a condemnation of what it approves! One wonders if one can believe his eyes while reading the version which the learned Parsi gives of his text. Let us be satisfied with quoting just a short passage from it:

(12) *va roshano jasto az rôi dâto hamâi khaditûnaçt, yin anbâmi aigha avir vasto râmishnîk mano-ash farzandîki farzand aît, hamatca men khadihi gvit tûkhmak va gvît dato: zak-ac âkhar cand vayag sâzit yehevûntano zak shâtîh va sîrînyeh va râmishno mano benman i gabrâ men nafshman-ash dôkhto zaranôît, mano akh-ac yehevûnît va ham mâtar?*

(13) *va zaki men benman va mâtar zaranôît akh-ac yehevûnît va ham abitar. Hama râçi vesh râmishno, nyâishno va hûravâkhm [inishn], lâ va aît patash hic zyâno prâe men çûto, láca ahûki parâe men khûp-gar.*[1]

(12) "And a light flashing from the face of the law is constantly seen,[2] at the moment when pleasure is produced, which (comes when) one gets children through his own children, even when it is by some one of a different race and different religion: then how much delicious that joy, that sweetness and pleasure must be, when the son of a man is born of his own daughter and when he becomes also a brother of this same mother?"

---

[1] Dk., II., 80, 12, 13.

[2] We do not understand how Dr. West has been able to translate the phrase: "Light flashed *forth* or unflashed is always seen at the time when it is much exposed." (p. 404). What does this mean? Nevertheless he seems to read the very explicit terms *az rôi dâto* as *aparvâkhto*. The phrase appears to us as simple as it is clear.

(13) "And he who is born of a son and a mother is also brother of this same father. This is the way of a geat pleasure, benediction, and joy, and there is neither any harm in it that can counterbalance its advantages, nor any vice that can surpass its good work."

237. It must be remembered that this passage is only a small portion of a long special pleading, in which this kind of marriage is defended with every species of mythological, physiological, political, social and religious arguments. The translation of the whole chapter is given by West in his *Pahlavi Texts*, II., pp. 399—410; so that it is no longer necessary to dwell upon it.[1] Here is then a case where

1 [The whole chapter in which the passage in question occurs is very obscure and difficult, and contains a long controversy between a Jew and an Airpat regarding the propriety or impropriety of the doctrine concerning the creation of mankind and the advisability or inadvisability concerning marriages between Mazdayasnians and non Mazdayasnians. Notwithstanding the general ambiguities and difficulties that lie in the way of reading and interpreting the Pehlevi language, the confusion of different ideas contained in this chapter of the *Dinkart* augments our doubts and renders us quite unable to distinguish the words of the Airpat from those of the Jew, and to determine whether it is the Airpat or the Jew who advocates or attacks a certain dogma. The above passage, therefore, may be attributed to the Jew as well as to the Airpat, and may be read and translated according to the sense in which it is understood. It cannot, then, be positively affirmed whether Dr. Casartelli or Dastur Peshotun is right in his reading and interpretation of the passage. Either of them followed his own way. Perhaps a third gentleman would make out quite a different sense from his own point of view and thus change the meaning of the same passage altogether; for, in the case of the obscure and ambiguous Pehlevi it often happens that one and the same passage is translated by different eminent scholars in such different ways that it becomes quite difficult for one to say whether they are versions of one and the same passage or of two altogether distinct ones. Moreover, it is quite impossible for a work like the *Dinkart*, which in a certain passage severely attacks and denounces those who indulged in the sinful practice of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes as of the nature of wolves and other low animals (see Dârâh Dastur Peshotan Sanjânâ, *The Alleged Practice of Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Iran*, p. 37), to advocate in another passage the same abominable custom. I, therefore, prefer Dastur Peshotan's translation and venture to say that the

a practice, considered by our Ethics and even that of the other religions of antiquity[1] as one of the most shocking of vices, is transformed by Mazdeism into a transcendent virtue.

(*b*)—Sins and Evil Actions.

(i.)—*General Lists.*

238. These contrasts however between the Ethics of the Mazdayasnian religion and our own are much more frequent in the sins than in the virtues. Here the complicated system of legal impurities and other particularly Eranian notions have included a goodly number of indifferent actions in the list of grave sins, and created quite an artificial morality. We may, therefore, follow Haug[2] in distinguishing between (i) sins contrary to the Christian morality as well as to that of Mazdeism, and (ii) sins which are considered so only in the Mazdayasnian code. But we shall first of all give some lists of crimes in order to give an idea of the scale of their gravity according to the Mazdayasnian principles.

Thus there are thirty sins and evil practices opposed to the thirty-three good deeds, which are as follows: 1 Sodomy, 2 pederasty, 3 murder of a pious man, 4 dissolution of *khvêtûkdaç*, 5 impeding astrology, 6 destruction of the

passage of the Dinkart, quoted by Dr. Casartelli above, instead of advocating the horrible custom of next-of-kin marriage, which appears to have been common at the time among certain heretical sects and non-Mazdayasnian races, denounces it as 'quite contrary to the Law' (*arâç-i vêsh*), and as 'having no pleasure, praise and joy' (*râmashni ŋyâishni arvâkhma lâ*). Such a work, it says, 'instead of bringing any advantage does much harm, and of however good aspect it may be, it is yet very unpleasant' (*va at patash hic zyân-i farh-i men çût, va lâ-ca jashnak-i frah-i men hû-cihar*).—Tr.]

[1] It is very curious to compare the strange dialogue between Yama and his sister Yamî, regarding the same notions and also the same mythological arguments, that we find in a more recent portion of the Rig Veda, with the doctrine of the Avesta and Pehlevi books: the doctrine developed therein is precisely the reverse of the Eranian theory. RV., x., 10.

[2] Edition of the *Ardâ-i Viraf Nâmak*, *Introduction*.

sacred fire, 7 destruction of the water-otter, 8 idolatry, 9 carelessness for religion, 10 breach of trust, 11 assistance afforded to falsehood, 12 idleness, 13 heresy (*zandîkîh*), 14 sorcery, 15 apostacy, 16 worship of demons, 17 theft and assistance given to thieves, 18 breach of promise, 19 malice, 20 oppression in seizing the things of others, 21 persecution of the just, 22 calumny, 23 pride, 24 adultery, 25 ingratitude, 26 falsehood, 27 affliction given to the helpless or to the dead,[1] 28 pleasure in disturbing the good, 29 continual sinning, 30 regret for having done good to others.[2]

239. The deeds of the evil religion (*çarîtır dîno*) opposed to those of the good Law are: avarice, deception, ingratitude, discontent, disobedience, violence, absence of mercy, tyranny, heresy, spiritual blindness (*kîkîh*), spiritual deafness (*karafih*), opposition to the Law (*adâtîh*),[3] and other vices.[4]

The faults and vices of the four classes of the people in the *Mainyo-i-Khard* must be again compared to their virtues mentioned before in the same chapter (§ 227). (i) The vices of the *priests* are: hypocrisy, covetousness, negligence, slothfulness, attention to trifles, and unbelief in religion. (ii) The vices of the *warriors* are: oppression, violence, breach of promise, encouragement of evil, ostentation,[5] arrogance and insolence. (iii) The vices of the *agriculturists* are: ignorance, envy, ill-will and malice. (iv) The vices of the *artisans* are: incredulity ingratitude, improper discourse, rudeness and slander.[6] It must be confessed that the Eranian moralists were not wanting in accuracy in their appreciation of characters!

---

[1] Substituting *avîjîd* for *qazid*; see West, in the *Muséon*, tom. II. No. 3 (1883).

[2] MK. xxxvi.

[3] This word is written just like the virtue *âshtîh*, *i. e.*, 'peace.' See § 220.

[4] Dk. III 109. 3.

[5] Substituting *dakhshîh* for *vehîh*. See West, *ut. sup.*

[6] MK, lix.

240. Elsewhere we find some precepts which forbid certain vices. Thus we have: do not slander, do not covet, do not give way to anger, be not anxious, commit no impurity, bear no envy, commit no sin through shame, indulge not in slothful sleep, do not talk out of season, plunder not the wealth of others, commit no adultery with another's wife. But along with these excellent precepts we find therein others very ridiculous, as for example: walk not with one shoe,[1] &c.[2]

(ii.)—*Sins Specially Condemned.*

241. Among the sins specially reprobated we can mention pride and contempt for others,[3] adulteration of food, false weights and measures,[4] cruelty to animals, and needless destruction of cattle.[5] We do not understand how illegitimacy of birth can be punished as a crime of the children themselves.[6]

As for intemperance and drunkenness, the doctrine is very curious. These sins are blamed not on account of their effect on the mind, but because excess in drinking produces excess in eating, and excess of food makes one unable to recite the *Gâthâs*.[7]

242. The *Dinkart* often speaks of *farâêbût* and *aîbîbût*,[8] apparently two vices or faults. For the first, Peshotun quotes

---

[1] [The word *aîmôk* may also mean 'without a shoe,' 'barefooted,' from *aî* = not and *môk* = a shoe). The word in the MK., ii., 37, probably, bears this meaning which also appears more reasonable. Cf. also West SlS., iv., 12 n, and x., 12.—Tr.]

[2] MK., ii., 8-50.

[3] Dk., III., 104.

[4] AVN., xxvii.

[5] AVN., lxxvii and xxx. See Haug's note.

[6] AVN., xlii. See Haug's note.

[7] Dk., I., 9.

[8] Dk., I., 45, etc. (and)

the following definition from the *Ganj-i Shâyagân* of Vajorg Mihir:[1] *frâêbût mînishnîh anâ mano çtîh pavan mâh-mânîh, va mînôi pavan mûçtigar yehçûnît, kâmak mehim zak mindavam yedrûnyen mano pavan farjâm vasôfishno-i tano va pûhal va pâtfraç-i râbân afash yehevûnît.*

"*Frâebût* is the opinion which maintains that the material world is a durable abode (*lit.* hospitality),[2] and that the spiritual world is full of trouble, the love for which will cause at the end (of things) the destruction of the body constituting the bridge (Cinvat) and the retribution of the soul."

It is, therefore, the crime of neglecting eternal interests for temporal ones.

243. For *aîbîbût* Peshotun quotes a phrase of the Pehlevi version of the *Khordeh Avesta*, which says: *aîbîbûtîh, khôrishno çûî patmâno dâshtano va kém fsush.*

"*Aîbîbûtîh* consists in keeping the measure (strictly) and in giving little food (during) a famine." (?)

But elsewhere the *Dinkart* itself, in associating these two crimes (*drûjîh*) as the cause of the sickness of life (*vimârîh-i khayâ*) explains these terms in the following manner:—

"*Farâêbût* is the proud thought (*avar mînîshnîh*) which says: 'there is no person who can be superior to me' (*lâ khavîtûnam aigha lî frâz mêhim*); and aîbîbût is arrogance (*tar mînishnîh*) which thinks: 'this other does not know (anything, being) backward and inferior' (*zak tani lâ khavitûnît lakhvâr va avir*)"[3]

(iii.)—*Legal Impurities—Philosophical Theory.*

244. We shall dispense with entering into the question of legal impurities. The ceremonial legislation of the

[1] About the middle of § 7 in Peshotun's edition, Bombay, 1885.

[2] See A. V. N., vii., viii., ix., and Haug's *Glossary*, s. v.

[3] Dk., III., 104.

Avesta finds its continuation and itsnatural evolution in the Pehlevi treatises. The legal defilements caused by contact with a dead body, or with the excretions of man or dog, or with a woman in her period of menstruation, the distinction between direct and indirect pollutions, the ceremonies of purification, and all other points which are in the Avesta, are here reproduced. But the details of them are generally more minute, a greater number of cases have been examined and explained: in a word casuistic science has been developed.

245. It is of some consequence, however, to remark that the doctrine of legal defilements among the Eranians rests upon a philosophical basis quite different from that among other ancient people,—the Jews, for example. For the Eranians there was question of something more than ceremonial purity.

Indeed we must recollect the Mazdayasnian theory of death. Mortality was not only the effect of sin,[1] but death itself was the work of the Evil Spirit. This is the reason why it was already denied in the Avesta that the good creatures of Aûharmazd, such as fire and water, could kill anybody: it was the invisible demon who struck, the mystical birds carried away the corpse which the water even tried to throw off.[2] This corpse was impure, for the drûj *Naçus* seized it at the time of its death, and being thus possessed by an impure spirit, it was itself impure and defiled those who touched it. In other words, the inanimate body then belonged to the evil creation, to the beings of Ahârman. The same principle was applied to the solid or liquid excretions proceeding from the body, including hair and paring of nails,—for everything that proceeded from the body was dead matter. The same notions are applied to women in the state of menstruation. The demons take possession of all this rejected matter and turn it into weapons against

[1] MK., viii., 27-30.
[2] Vd., v.

living creatures.[1] Hence two consequences: (i) defilement of those who come in contact with this matter now become diabolical; (ii) prohibition of throwing it into fire or water, of burying it in the earth,—the holy and pure elements.[2]

246. It therefore remained for men either to avoid these defilements, or to purify themselves from the defilements contracted, or to extricate themselves from the consequences of the fault committed by defiling fire, water, or earth. Hence all these prescriptions, all these decisions in doubtful cases, of which we have just spoken.[3]

This likewise explains the reason why the sins against morality properly so called and legal defilements are not distinguished. In this case Mazdeism logically followed its philosophical principles.

247. We may likewise silently pass over some cases of crimes purely fictitious, proceeding from notions peculiar to the Mazdayasnians: the killing of certain animals sacred to the Mazdayasnians, viz. dog, water-otter, cattle, &c.,[4] use of warm-baths,[5] negligence in taking care of the sacred fire,[6] use of cosmetics on the face and of artificial hair by women,[7] mourning and weeping,[8] the habit of walking with one shoe,[9] and others. The *Shâyast lâ-Shâyast*, a treatise on moral theology, translated by West in his *Pahlavi Texts*, part I., is a collection of all the prescriptions of this kind.

---

[1] SlṢ., xii., 4.

[2] This is the reason for the use of the *Dakhmâs* or 'Towers of Silence' by the Parsis, in which they expose their dead bodies to be devoured by carnivorous birds. The animals of Aûharmazd are the agents employed by Him for clearing the earth from all impurities.

[3] See de Harlez, *Introduction*, pp. ccxxxii-ccxxxiv.

[4] AVN., xlv, lxxv, lxxvii, &c.

[5] AVN., xli.

[6] AVN., lv, &c.

[7] AVN., lxxiii.

[8] AVN., lvii.

[9] AVN., xxv; SlS., iv, 12. [See the translator's note 1 on p. 162.]

(iv.)—*Classification of Sins.*

248. We see that some attempts are made to classify offences. On the one hand two classes are distinguished: the sins which do injury to one's neighbour (called *hamêmâlân,*) and those that affect only the soul of the sinner (called *rôbânîk*).[1] On the other hand the vices (*ahûkân*) are divided into two sections: antecedent (*frâz*) evil attributes, such as covetousness (*âzo*), anger (*khashm*), &c., and the consequent (*avâz*) sins, such as slothfulness (*çuçtîh*), murder (*çpôjkârîh*), &c.[2]; that is to say, into internal and external sins.[3]

249. It is a favourite custom to assimilate 'the diseases of the soul' with those of the body, and the Mazdayasnian medicine comprised the treatment both of bodily diseases and of sins. This was, however, quite natural, for the diseases as well as the sins were attributed to the action of Aharman and his demons. Thus the soul had certain principles of spiritual diseases, viz. "ignorance, deception (*friftârîh*),[4] anger (*khashmvadîh*), idleness (*çûçtîh*),[5] pride, contempt for others, immodesty, murderous intention, impurity (*jêhîh*) and slothfulness,"[6] just as the body contained certain principles or germs of diseases.[7] These principles closely resemble the 'capital sins' of the Christian theology. In other words they are natural passions (*cîhar*) exploited by the demon Varûn (the personification of passions).[8] They were also conceived as female demons (*drûj*), peculiar to each person

---

[1] SIS., viii., 1, see West's note.

[2] Dk., IV, 157, 45.

[3] They are also compared with the internal and external corporeal diseases. See Dk., IV., 157, 44.

[4] This word is wrongly transcribed *fraçftarîh* in the text of Peshotun.

[5] Peshotun reads this word *dêvaiyaçnêh*, which is impossible. At least it must be *dêvayaçtîh*, but the sense does not agree here. For *çûçt*, see Haug, *Old Pahlavi Pazend Glossary*, p. 209.

[6] Dk., IV., 157, 41.

[7] Cf., our § 146.

[8] Dk., I., 48; IV., 157, 43.

He who is able to fight against 'his own peculiar *drûj*' and to keep off from his body these five *drûjs*, viz. avarice, anger, impurity, shame and discontent, is the strongest of men.[1]

III.—MERIT—RESPONSIBILITY—CASUISTRY.

250. The Eranians had very precise notions about merits and demerits, about the responsibility and recompense of actions. We have already seen that the good works done carelessly or unwittingly have very little or rather no merit.[2] In the same way the sacrifices of the worship are always productive of merit (*kerfak*), but in case of any neglect of the officiating priest, that merit is not attained. However, it is not lost altogether but passes to the treasure (*ganj*) of merits, placed in the hands of the yazds, who can give it to the souls of the pious.[3] In the same manner the merits of the good deeds, lost by sins, revive in the soul after the repentance and confession of the sins, accompanied by the determination to improve.[4]

A righteous man should instruct his sinning friend, otherwise he becomes, in a measure, culpable of his faults and will reap great shame on the day of the last judgment.[5] It is the same with a husband who does not instruct and correct his wife.[6] Mention is often made of the responsibility of parents for their children[7] and of superiors for their subjects.[8]

251. If the righteous do not receive their recompense in this world, it must be on account of the influence of Aharman.[9] This is the manner in which the retributions of the future

---

[1] MK., xli., 8-11.
[2] MK., i., 25, 26.
[3] SIS., viii., 4. Spiegel has shown the Semitic origin of this doctrine.
[4] SIS., viii, 8.
[5] BD., xxx., 11.
[6] AVN., lxviii.
[7] Dk., IV, 170.
[8] Dk., V., 46.
[9] MK, xxxviii.

life take place: at the end of every one's life, his good and evil actions are weighed, and the result determines the condition of the soul after death,[1] as we shall see in the following chapter.

252. Again, man will be judged from the natural gifts which he possesses. These gifts have some connection with the (innate) love for God (*kâm val dâtâr*) and the capacity of intelligence (*dânishno tûbâno*). Thus, the man who naturally possesses these two gifts as well as love for religion, who desires to know the truth and to make the search for it, and who is moreover virtuous, will be saved, even if he does not attain to the complete truth. In the same manner, one who is wanting in the capacity of investigating the truth, but who possesses the love for God and for religion and knowledge, and who performs good deeds, will also be saved. Again one who has the love for God and religion, and who is capable of making inquiries, but does not possess the knowledge of the Law, will be saved by his natural knowledge of God. And again one who has only the love of God and religion, and who is wanting in intelligence, will nevertheless be saved. Lastly, he who has never received the natural gifts of the love for God and religion, on account of this involuntary deprivation (*barîtak-ashi kâm râi*), will also be saved in spite of his sins.[2]

253. Elsewhere the principle *necessitas non habet legem*[3] is admitted; also in cases of legal defilements, a certain ἐπικεία is made use of;[4] it is considered that intention is more important than the action itself.[5] In case of doubt, where one can not know whether the action is lawful or unlawful, he must not do it, but avoid it, if possible.[6] It is taught

[1] AVN., vi., 9-11; xxiix; lx.
[2] Dk., II., 72.
[3] SlS., ii., 53.
[4] Ibid., 38, 39.
[5] Ibid., 90, sqq.
[6] SlS. x., 25, 27.

that one must always speak the truth, even in cases where that truth might bring him or others into trouble, or where the lie might be fruitful of advantage.[1] However, one can do harm even by speaking the truth, for "there is one who speaks the truth and thereby becomes wicked, and also there is one who tells a lie and thereby becomes righteous."[2] Apparently, therefore, it was not permitted to speak the truth in certain cases.

IV.—CONTRITION—CONFESSION—PENANCE.

254. The means for extricating oneself from sins and their consequences are contrition, resolution to amend, and confession. West believed that he could find in the Mazdayasnian *Patêt* a penance, which "bears a closer resemblance to the Protestant repentance than to the Romish penance," and for this reason "the remission (in the Parsi system) is dependent upon the mental change rather than upon the bodily act."[3] We admit that we cannot understand this at all. Has any religion ever made the remission principally dependent upon a *bodily* act and not upon a *mental* change? But we have only to look upon the text itself, which West comments according to his own version.

"For the renunciation (of sin) the principal thing is this, that he commits no sin voluntarily; but if a sin arises through inexperience, weakness or ignorance, *then the sinner presents himself before the Desturs and the pious for confession (Patêt);* after that, if he commits (the sin) no more, then that sin which he has committed is removed from his person, in the same way that a hundred-fold powerful, quick and strong wind sweeps over a wilderness, carrying off all grass and weeds that are lying therein."[4]

---

[1] Dk., I., 32, 3, 4, 5.
[2] SIS., xx., 14.
[3] MK., p. 178, n. Version of the Pazend and Sanskrit texts.
[4] MK., lii., 16, sqq.

The principal thing is evidently the internal change, but the public confession before the priests is an essential condition, which differs *toto cælo* from the justification of the Protestant system.

255. Repentance of mind and penitence by word and action also deliver the soul from hell, under the direction of the Destur of the good Law, who is the *Doctor* of the soul (*rûbâno bezaṣhk*) and who is always mentioned as absolutely indispensable for the *Patêt*.[1]

Again, repentance (*patêtîh*) is necessarily internal and external. The external duty consists in this that the sin which the penitent knows to have assailed him must be specially confessed (in words, *barâ gôbishno*) by him. The mental duty consists in this that the penitent renounces the sin with this thought: "henceforth I will no more commit the sin."[2] It is a crime to conceal any committed sin, and this doctrine is supported by the anecdote of Âtarôpât, the son of Zartusht.[3]

Again it is said that "grief and repentance and the confession of the sin must be followed as much as possible by good actions for the remission of the sins."[4]

256. These penances were organised by the priesthood to such an extent that they minutely systematised all sins as a development of the seven degrees of violence against the body mentioned in the Avesta.[5] The scale was applied to all crimes, and the gravity of each crime was estimated by weights (*dirhams* and *çtirs*, Greek δραχμή, στατήρ). These weights were those of the golden scale of Rashnû, who weighs the deeds of the dead.[6] Then these values were

[1] Dk., I., 14. [In MK., liii., it is said that if a sin is committed, one is to be sorry, repentant, and in renunciation of sins either before the sun, Mihir, the moon, or the sacred fire of Auharmazd.—Tr.]

[2] SIS., viii., 8.

[3] Ibid., 9, 10.

[4] MK., liii., 7-9.

[5] Vd., iv.

[6] AVN., v., 5.

reduced into real silver coins, and thus a true scale of fines, a tax upon sins, was established.[1] We can thus estimate the tax upon a certain sin mentioned by Ardâ-i Virâf at £ 2000.[2]

257. There still exist certain formulæ of *Patêt* or confession, of which some is long and some short. These formulæ commence with a prayer, an act of praise of God, a proclamation of good thoughts, words, and deeds, and a detestation of the evil thoughts, words and deeds. Then follows a long list of sins with their respective gravity, sins 'in thought, word, and deed' (*mînishnîk, gûbishnîk, kûnishnîk*). It ends with an act of faith in Aûharmazd and in the truths of religion.[3]

V.—RELIGION, DUTIES OF THE FAITHFUL WITH REGARD TO IT.

(a)—The Good Law.—The Only True Religion.

258. The relations of the faithful with religion, 'the good Law' (*vêh dîno, shapîr dîno*) are so important, that it will be necessary for us to devote a special paragraph to their consideration.

This good religion is personified as existing from the commencement together with Aûharmazd. It can be known to men only by revelation (*pîtâkîh*).[4] This revelation was first made to Mâshya and Mâshyôi, and then to Yim.[5]

There is only one religion (*aîvak dîno*),[6] all other religions are severely attacked and condemned,—chiefly those of the Jews, the Mânicheans, and the Christians.

---

[1] For its detail see West, PT. I., pp. 239-242, and de Harlez, *Introduction*, ccxxviii-ccxxix.

[2] Haug, edit. of AVN., p. 170, n.

[3] See the *Patêt-i khûd*, de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, pp. 144-151.

[4] Dk., I., 57.

[5] Ibid., 12.

[6] Dk., IV., 150.

The tradition is highly respected.[1] There are six authorised systems of interpretation, but they do not always agree with one another.[2]

259. The sage, who is spoken of in the *Mainyo-i Khard*, was sorely troubled by the variety and number of religions on the earth. "If it is certain," he said, "that the religion of God is the truth, that His law is excellent, and that He is benevolent and merciful to His creatures, wherefore are there so many religions, beliefs and principles among men?" Then he considered that much trouble must be undergone by the soul, because the body returns to dust and everything depends only upon the soul. It is for this reason that he travelled from town to town and from one country to another, consulting the learned doctors of each and every religion. But he was grieved to see them all differ from and contradict one another. And this made him confirmed in the good (Mazdayasnian) religion. He eagerly asked for instructions from the priests on the questions that troubled him; so that the Spirit of Wisdom at length disclosed itself to instruct him.[3]

260. All those who belong to the good religion do not necessarily belong to it in the same fashion. They can adhere to it either from wisdom (*dânishno*) or by natural disposition (*hêm*) or by simple habit (*hûk*). Thus eight kinds of men are distinguished. Those who belong to the religion by these three bonds, those who adhere to it by two of them (and there are three varieties among them), those who are attached to it by only one of these means (there are three kinds of these), and lastly, those who are in no way attached to the religion.[4]

---

[1] Dk., I., 17.
[2] SlS., i., 4.
[3] MK., i., 14-fin.
[4] Dk., IV., 149.

(*b*)—*The Priesthood—Its Importance.*

261. The importance of the Mazdayasnian religion assured that of the priesthood, not only in the social body, but also in its relations with every individual. Indeed, the priest had to be not only the minister of worship, the preserver and doctor of the sacred traditions, the judge (*vacîr*) of the Law,[1] but also was the spiritual physician of every soul.[2] In cases of difficulty a Mazdayasnian must consult his Destur, for he has been created with qualities which enable him to fight against error.[3] It is he who assists us in avoiding hell.[4] Among the four professions (*pîshak*) of the people his is the most excellent (*afartûm*).[5] There are five reasons for this superiority: (i) The priest possesses the attributes of the two classes of the warriors and agriculturists; for it is his duty to declare war against the demons and to cultivate (the earth) with the worship of God. (ii) All men must learn from the priests the rules of morality and their religious duties. (iii) The priest is superior on account of the excellence of his recitations (of the sacred books), by his position and the marks of the priesthood. (iv) In the social body the priest corresponds to the head, whilst the warrior corresponds to the hand, the agriculturist to the stomach, and the artisan to the foot. (v) The priest is nearest the soul and commands it.

262. The high priest, the mobed of mobeds (*magûpatân magûpat*),[6] is a kind of supreme pontiff, whose decisions *ex cathedra* are of the highest authority.[7] In the Pehlevi book, *Kârnâmak-i Ardeshir-i Papakân* (Deeds of king Ardeshir,

---

[1] Dk., II., 69, 2.
[2] Dk., IV., 157.
[3] BD., xix., 36, 37.
[4] Dk., I., 14.
[5] Dk., II., 69.
[6] The term was evidently meant to correspond with the title *shâhan shâh* or *mâlkân malkâ* of the king in the civil order.
[7] Dk., II., 67.

the founder of the Sassanian dynasty), the king is made to consult the mobed of mobeds as to how he must act (*meman yehçûnîh afash meman kunîshno*) in a difficult case.[1]

Support and aid for the religion was expected from the civil power; hence the importance of the union between the two powers.[2]

(*c*)—*Other Religions—Infidels—Apostates.*

263. The Mazdayasnian religion was anything but tolerant. It was the only good one among several other religions; all others were bad.[3] The Jewish, Manichean, and Christian religions were specially condemned.[4] A Mazdayasnian should fight against "the Jewish religion (*kêsh-i Yihud*) of Arûm (the Greek Empire), against that of the Messiah (*Mashîh*) of the West, and that of Mâni (*Mânâi*) of Turkestan." It is elsewhere said that the only pure religion is the Mazdayasnian; that of the Sinîk is mixed; that of the Zendîk, the Christian (*Tarsâk*), the Jewish and other religions are still worse. The Christian religion had a third name that of *Kilîçyâkîh*,[5] for which we have the authority of Neryosangh in his Sanskrit translation of the *Yaçna*. This word is formed from the Persian *kiliçya* = Grk. ἐκκλησία.[6] We have seen that there is a special demon, *Shêdâ-çpih*, 'the White Demon,' attributed to Christianity.[7] It is very remarkable and, at the same time, very important for determining the date of our authorities, that none of these passages, while attacking evil religions, breathe a single word about Islamism. Moreover, they always

---

[1] Text given by Peshotun in his *Dinkart*, vol., II, p. 69, n.
[2] Dk., I., 58.
[3] Dk., IV., 150, 138.
[4] Dk., I., 29; IV., 150; SIS., vi., 7.
[5] BY., ii., 19.
[6] West, PT., I., p. 200. These explanations are taken from M. Darmesteter.
[7] BY., iii., 3, 5, 8; cf. our § 127.

associate Christianity with Arûm [2] or Rûm, that is to say, the Greek Empire, which was constantly at war with the Sassanian kings. All these indications are valuable, from the historical point of view.

264. Speaking about the non-Aryan worshippers of demons (*dêvayaçnân anaîr*) and about the sectarians or apostates (*aharmôkân*), the Dinkart teaches that any communication with them is a cause of impurity; that one should not eat with them; that one should wash three times with hot water the vessels from which they have eaten or drunk (*tashto va patishvar-i valmanshâno patash vahdûnand çe-bâr pavan zak-i garm âvo shôçtan*); a Mazdayasnian is polluted by eating out of these vessels.[2]

265. The conversion of an adherent of an evil religion (*akdîno*) into the good religion is permitted.[3] Such an infidel (*akdîno*) can, according to Kûshtano-bûjêd, the commentator, escape from hell by good deeds.[4] But for an apostate (*ahramôk*) there is no more hope: he will not rise up again from the dead even on the last day.[5]

The government must not be tolerant to apostates but "must deliver up their bodies (to torture) on account of the soul."[6]

VI.—SENTENTIOUS MORALITY OF MAZDEISM.

266. In conclusion we must say a word on the proverbial form which the Pehlevi treatises and specially the *Mainyo-i Khard* affect.[7] These are the moral sentences that strikingly

[1] It is scarcely necessary to notice the error of Peshotun, who identifies this with Armenia in Dk., II., Glossary.

[2] Dk., I., 36; 49, 3.

[3] Dk., II., 70.

[4] SIS., vi., 6; Dk., II, 97, 5.

[5] SIS., xvii., 7.

[6] MK.,,xv., 22, 25.

[7] See our remarks in chap. I., § 53.

remind us of those of the sapiential books of the Old Testament. The enumeration of contraries, the aphorisms, were specially favoured. It would be evidently impossible to mention here all of them; we shall briefly indicate just a few.

267. The following are the things which cannot be relied upon: wealth, a king, human respect, relations, ancestry, and life.[1]

Do not dispute with a wicked man; be not partner with a covetous man; go not to the door of kings with a slanderer; form no connection with a man of evil repute; be not an associate with an ignorant man; do not quarrel with a foolish man; walk not in the streets with a drunkard; accept no loan from an ill-natured man.[2]

268. There are four kinds of women: one who is good and not bad; one who is good as well as bad; one who is bad and not good; one who is neither good nor bad. If you wish to be happy select the first; the second, however, will also be able to become a good house-wife; but take care not to select either of the last two![3]

The following four things must always be thought of: the mutability of the world, death, judgment and hell.[4]

269. The seven worst things are: a king who is unable to maintain his kingdom in peace; a governor who is without skill, ungrateful and without affability; a friend who is not fit to be relied upon; a kinsman who does not assist in adversity; a wife with whom one cannot live in peace; a child who does not behave well; a city where there is neither virtue nor safety.[5]

---

[1] MK., ii., 102-110.
[2] Ibid., 54-63; cf. *Eccles.* viii, 1-5, 18-21.
[3] Dk., II., 72.
[4] MK., xviii.
[5] MK., xxxiii.

The four things which must be taken great care of are: a child, a wife, a beast of burden, and fire.[1]

270. Poverty with honesty is better than wealth without honesty.[2] Liberality out of the wealth of others does not benefit the donor, but blesses those from whom it has been robbed.[3]

The root (*bûn*) is known by the fruit (*bar*) and the fruit by the root.[4]

Wine moderately taken is good, but drunk in excess is injurious. Wine manifests the good and the evil disposition.[5]

---

[1] MK., xxix.
[2] MK., xv., 4; Dk., II., 68.
[3] MK., xv., 7, 8.
[4] Dk., IV., 153, 2.
[5] MK., xvi.; cf. *Eccles.*, xxxi., 31-39.

CHAPTER VII.

ESCHATOLOGY.

271. Our description of the Mazdayasnian Ethics would be incomplete without a sketch of Eschatology, which forms the necessary complement to it. For, here below Aûharmazd bestows his benefits upon the good as well as upon the evil, *pluit super justos et injustos*,—and the benefits of this world do not always accrue to the virtuous. It is only in heaven and hell that the righteous and the wicked will have their recompense and their punishment.[1]

Undoubtedly, we have not much to add on this point to the doctrine of the Avesta, except certain natural developments. This circumstance will admit of our stretching this part of the religious philosophy as briefly as possible.

We have, then, to consider, (i) the last end, the *novissima*, of men taken individually: death, judgment and the state after death; and (ii) the *novissima* of the whole world: the last days, resurrection and ἀποκατάστασις.

I.—FATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH.

(*a*)—*Before the Individual Judgment.*

272. The adventures of the soul after death form the favourite subject of the descriptions of the Mazdayasnian literature. This picturesque history is already told twice in the Avesta.[2] In our Pehlevi treatises of the Sassanian period we find it repeated thrice, viz. in the *Mainyo-i Khard*, in the *Ardâ-i Virâf Namah* and in the *Dinkart*. We shall endeavour to reproduce briefly the striking scene beyond the tomb from these three sources.

---

[1] MK., xxxviii.

[2] Vd., xix., 89-112 (Wester., 27-34), Yt. xxii., (*Hâdokht Nask*), ii. and iii.

273. The dogs and birds devour the body after death and the perishable (*séjinak*) part of it falls to the earth.[1] But the soul, separated from the body, remains seated near the head of the body for three days and nights, reciting a verse of the Gâthâs; during this time the soul enjoys an immense happiness, if it is one of a righteous man.[2]

On the dawn of the fourth day[3] the soul of the righteous advances towards a place, where blows a wind from the southern quarter, from the direction of God,—a wind surcharged with sweet perfume of the trees, sweeter even than any which the man has ever scented in this life.[4] It must be remembered that the soul in the Mazdayasnian system is represented by a young man, an idea contrary to our poetical and mystical language, which attributes to the soul the charms of the fair sex.

On his way the soul meets a beautiful apparition: a damsel of graceful form, very beautiful, virtuous, charming to the heart and soul, brilliant, delightful to the eyes,[5] and more beautiful than any damsel in this world.[6] The soul cries out in wonder: "Who art thou? For I have never seen in my life a damsel more beautiful and more elegant than thee." "I am not a damsel," answers the apparition, "but, oh youth of good thoughts, words, deeds and religion! I am thy good actions. It is on account of thy will and actions that I appear to thee so great, good, sweet-scented, triumphant and undistressed as thou seest. When thou didst

---

[1] MK., ii., 113. West, in the *Muséon*, tom. II., No. 3. AVN., iv., 8-14. [Cf. Yt. xxii., 2, 4, 6 and Yt. xxiv., 53, 54.—Tr.]

[3] MK., ii., 115. In AVN., iv., 15 "the third dawn" is mentioned, which comes to the same thing, counting the day of the dead as the first of the four days.

[4] AVN., iv., 16, 17. [Cf Yt. xxii., 7, 8 and Yt. xxiv., 55.—Tr.]

[5] AVN., iv., 18-20; Dk., II. 75. [Cf. Yt. xxii., 9 and Yt. xxiv., 56—Tr.]

[6] MK., ii., 126. This book however differs from all our other authorities, including even the Avesta, in that it places the interview with the damsel *after* the passage of the *Cinvat Bridge*, while in all the other books the apparition assists the soul in passing the bridge.

abstain from idolatry, from acts of violence and oppression, from deceit and falsehood, and on the contrary didst practise the worship of God, when thou hast been kind towards thy neighbour, hast practised hospitality and hast taken care of the fire: then I, who was already robust, am made more robust by thee; then I, who was already virtuous, am made more virtuous by thee; then I, who was worthy, exalted, honoured, excellent and brilliant, am made more worthy, more exalted, more honoured, more excellent and more brilliant; then I, who possessed a resplendent throne, am seated more resplendently by thee.[1] Lo! I belong to thee, because I represent the good thoughts, words and deeds, which were thought, spoken and done by thee."[2]

274. Precisely the reverse fate awaits the soul of the wicked. He also passes three days and nights flitting about near the head of the body, chanting a very sad and mournful verse of the Gâthâs: "O Creator Aûharmazd! to what land do I go? where will be my refuge?"[3] During this time, the soul sees with his own eyes all the sins and crimes committed by him in his whole life.[4] His anguish and misery are as much as all that an unfortunate and miserable man suffers in his mortal life.[5]

On the dawn of the fourth day this soul quits his station[6] and advances towards a place, where he meets with a cold northern wind, horribly piercing, and of worse odour than any in this world.[7] And in this wind he sees a profligate

---

[1] AVN., iv., 21—33; MK., ii, 127—139. [Cf. Yt. xxii., 10—14 and Yt. xxiv., 57-60.—Tr.]

[2] MK., ii., 136.

[3] AVN., xvii., 5-7; MK., ii., 158, 159. [Cf. Yt. xxii., 20, 22, 24—Tr.]

[4] MK., ii., 160. [Cf. Yt. xxii., 24.—Tr.]

[5] AVN., xvii., 8, 9.

[6] According to MK., ii., 161, the demon Vizarsh first of all comes and binds the soul closely with a chain. See also BD., xxviii., 18. [An exactly similar description is found in Vd., xix., 29.—Tr.]

[7] AVN., xvii., 10, 11. [Cf. Yt. xxii., 25, 26.—Tr.]

and iii.

woman, like a prostitute (*jêh*), naked, decayed, gaping (?), bandy-legged, lean-hipped, covered with scales (or spots), and like a hideous, dirty and stinking *khrafçtar*.[1]

Then the wicked soul cries thus: "Who art thou? I have never seen among the creatures of Aûharmazd or of Aharman a creature uglier, filthier and more stinking than thee!" Then she answers: "I am not a woman, O monster (*zîsht*) that thou art! O young man of evil thoughts, words and deeds! it is only by thy will and actions that I am rendered hideous and vile, iniquitous and diseased, rotten and stinking, unfortunate and miserable, as thou seest me. Seeing others practising the worship of God, protecting water and fire, practising hospitality and giving alms, exercising strict justice and incorruptibility,—thou hast, on the contrary, followed the will of Aharman and hast been avaricious and hast shut thy door, thou hast been unjust and hast committed perjury. It is therefore thou who hast made me more wicked than what I was already. I was hideous, full of terror, dwelling in the north, dishonored, and despised, and thou hast rendered me more hideous, more full of terror, dwelling further to the north, more dishonored and more despised! Lo what I know of thee! They curse me a long time with continual execrations and in company with Aharman!"[2]

275. We have already noticed the strange idea of Haug about *fravâhars*. He considers these two damsels meeting the soul as the *fravâhars* of the righteous and of the wicked.[3] A *fravâhar* is never considered as wicked or hideous, neither is it considered as capable of being changed nor

[1] AVN., xvii., 12; Dk., II, 75. The latter book calls the evil and ugly woman *Carûityo*, transcribed in the Avestaic characters, in opposition to the name *Kaino*, in the same characters, applied to the beautiful virgin. Apparently for the *Dinkart* the Avestaic word *carâiti* had a bad meaning; but it seems to signify merely a young, hard-working woman. See Justi, *Handbuch*; de Harlez, Vd., v., 171 (Wester., 61).

[2] AVN., xvii., 13-26, MK., ii, 168-181

[3] See Chap II., § 117.

corrupted by the actions of the soul. They are never represented by women but rather by warriors.[1] Moreover, these damsels explicitly tell us what they are, *viz.*, the personification of the good or evil deeds of man[2]; this is, then, a perfectly reliable testimony.

But one cannot believe his eyes when he reads the statement of the learned editor of the *Dinkart* that these two apparitions are respectively the forms of what he calls the '*Spenamino*' and the '*Ghanamino*'![3] The whole idea of the exact signification of these terms must have been lost to allow such a confusion.[4]

(*b*)—*The Cinvat Bridge and the Judgment of the Soul.*

276. Quite close to the place of these interviews there is the celebrated Cinvat Bridge (*Cinvar* or *Cinvat pûhal*)[5] which unites this world with the world beyond the grave. This bridge is situated upon 'the peak of judgment' (*Cakâd-i dâitîk*), which is in the middle of the world and which seems to be a part of the Albûrz.[6] This is 'the Bridge of the Soul,' the place for judgment.[7] When there is mention of future retribution 'the Bridge' only is sometimes mentioned: thus our omissions of the ceremonies of worship 'go to the Bridge as sins.'[8] A certain man on account of his

[1] BD., vi., 3. [In Yt. xiii., the *fravashis* are often represented by warriors. (See paras. 17, 23, 31, 33, 37, 38, 39, 45, &c.)—Tr.]

[2] 'Ebenbild seiner guten Werke' [Image of his good deeds], as Spiegel calls it, EA., II., 228.

[3] Translation of the *Dinkart*, vol., II., pp. 82, 83.

[4] In Mâni's system also a damsel meets the soul of the righteous after his death, and the description given therein of the fate of the soul during this time, except that of the judgment, agrees exactly with that of the *Dinkart*. Cf. Spiegel, EA., II, 227, 228.

[5] The Paz. name is *Candôr*.

[6] BD., xii., 7.

[7] Ibid.

[8] SIS., xii., 31.

sins will pass over 'the Bridge' (*pavan vanâç dahîshnîh pûhal*).[1]

277. This is the place where are found the three judges of the dead,—Mîtro, Çrôsh, and Rashno. Many other angels, such as Âtaro, Vâi the good, Vâhrâm, and demons, such as Aêshm, Vâi the bad, Frezist, Nîzist, and chiefly Vîzarsh, assemble there to contend for the soul.[2]

Justice is administered by means of the golden balance of Rashno the Just, whose scrupulous exactitude, as we have already seen, weighs the actions of the deceased.[3] Now if the good deeds weigh heavier than the evil ones, the soul is admitted into heaven; and if on the contrary the evil deeds outweigh the good ones, it is destined to hell. But when both the good and the evil actions are evenly balanced, then the soul must enter into a middle state (*hamêstagân*).[4]

As soon as the decision is given the soul advances towards the terrible bridge, whose passage is the most dreadful road that exists.[5]

278. The passage of the bridge depends upon the state of each individual soul. If the soul is virtuous, the beautiful damsel, who personifies his good life, assists him in passing the bridge with ease,[6] and then the bridge has the breadth of nine javelin-throws[7] or even of a league.[8] Çrosh, Âtaro and other angels also assist the soul in passing from the bridge, just as they had done for Ardâ-i Vîrâf.[9]

But if the soul is sinful, it soon falls into the hands of the demon Vîzarsh, who beats and torments it without pity. In

---

[1] Dk., IV., 158, 9.
[2] MK., ii., 115, sqq.
[3] See chap. III., § 104.
[4] MK., xii., 13-15.
[5] MK., xii., 13.
[6] Dk., II., 75.
[7] AVN., iv., 1.
[8] MK., ii., 123.
[9] AVN., v., 2.

vain does the soul lament and weep, imploring for mercy and struggling for life: nobody, either of the angels or of the demons, assists it. At length Vîzarsh drags it quite exhausted into hell.[1] Does this soul pass the bridge? According to the *Dinkart* it does,[2] but our other sources do not mention this. We know that the more recent authors have represented the bridge as having the form of a razor, with one side very broad and the other as thin as the edge. This bridge is capable of turning and presents to the righteous the broad and flat surface, and to the wicked the thin edge, so that the latter can not pass at all but must fall into hell.[3] Nothing of the sort is mentioned in our treatises of the period.

279. Spiegel[4] and others after him[5] represent this Cinvat Bridge as guarded by a dog called *Zaringôsh*, that is to say, 'having yellow ears,' a kind of Cerberus, who repels the demons and the wicked from the bridge, and who is compared very naturally to the two yellowish dogs (*udumbala*, RV., x., 14, 12) of the Vedic hells. But we now know that the passage of the vision of Ardâ-i Vîrâf, upon which this belief is based, exists neither in the Pehlevi nor in the Pazend texts, but only in a Persian poetical translation of recent date,[6] the English translation of which by Pope was alone known to Spiegel when he wrote his *Traditional Literature*. There is no mention made of this dog in our other sources of the period.[7]

---

[1] MK., ii., 164-166.
Dk., II., 75.

[2] *Dâdistân-i Dînîk*, xx., xxi. See West, PT. II.

[3] Trad. Lit., p 124.

[4] Van den Gheyn, *Cerbère* (Brussels, 1883), p 14. But he has since modified this opinion; see his *Essais de Mythologie et de Philologie comparée*, p. 85 (Brussels—Paris, 1885).

[5] Haug, *Introductory Essays* to AVN., p. xx.

[6] As to the *two* dogs of the Avesta, Vend., xiii., 25 (Westerg., 9), cf de Harlez, *Introduction*, p. clvi.

280. It is on this point that the *Mainyo-i Khard* differs from the other books, in as much as it introduces at this stage the meeting of the soul with the damsel, the incarnation of his actions, for the first time.

After passing the bridge the soul of the just feels once more a delicious, fragrant breeze, sweeter than any, and he cries out: "What breeze is this? for I never met in the world with such a wind of so sweet a perfume."

"This is the heavenly breeze," replies Çrôsh[1]; and at that very moment indeed the soul enters into heaven, to the consideration of which we must now pass.

(*c*)—*The World beyond the Grave.*

(i)—*Heaven.*

281. If we endeavour to find our way to the mystical regions beyond the grave, we shall meet first of all with the following fragment of cosmology in the *Dinkart*:—

Âçmâno pîrâmûni viçpâno cigûn khâîh mehim vâi, va andarûni açmâno çûâk çê aînyok: aivak roshano-i ayomâîk tûm,[2] *vehîh-i ayomâîk çaritarîh, va shâtîh*[3] *ayomâik bîsh. Cigûn çûâki avartûm afash shem 'Garôtmâno vahisto.' Avartûm zagash pâîk gâçi dâtâr Aûharmazd, va pâîk gâçi Amâroçpand va avârîk yazdân, va azarânâtano fravâhar va roshnân-i vînishnîk va pavan avîzakîh men ag-i dat.*[4]

"Heaven surrounds the whole creation, just as the egg surrounds the bird. And in the midst of heaven there are three kinds of locations; (and also) a light without darkness, a goodness without wickedness and a pleasure without misery. As it is the supreme place, its name is 'the most excellent'

---

[1] MK., ii., 140-144.

[2] Correcting the reading *ayomaîktûm*.

[3] Reading, instead of

[4] Dk., II., 74, 2.

Garotmân. This supreme (place) is the region of habitation of the Creator Aûharmazd, and the region of habitation of the Ameshoçpands and of the other yazds, and of the fravâhars of those who have not yet taken birth, and of the brilliant visions, and possesses stainless purity."

Here, therefore, we have a triple heaven, above which is Garôtman, the supreme heaven, the dwelling of God and of the good spirits.

282. Elsewhere four other heavens are mentioned: (i) *Hûmat*, the heaven of good thoughts, (ii) *Hûkht*, the heaven of good words, (iii) *Hûvarsht*, the heaven of good deeds, and above all these heavens is (iv) the brilliant *Garôtman*, which is pre-eminent.[1]

The *Hûmat* region extends from the stars to the moon, the *Hûkht* from the moon to the sun, and the *Hûvarsht* from the sun to the heaven *Garôtman*, where dwells the Creator.[2]

283. The same division precisely is found in the vision of Ardâ-i Vîrâf.

We know that this holy Destur, according to the legend, flourished under the Sassanian king Shâhpûr II. (A.D. 309-380). The Mazdayasnian religion was exceedingly corrupted, the traditions were altered or lost, and the prime minister of this king, the zealous Âtaropâd-i Mârçpandân (known in

[1] MK., lvii., 13. [These four heavens are also found mentioned in Yt. xxii., 15, and Yt. xxiv., 61. But according to *Rashnu Yasht*, 25-38, there are seven heavens, viz. (i) that of the stars or *Satarpâya*, (ii) that of the moon or *Mâhpâya*, (iii) that of the sun or *Khûrshedpâya*, (iv) that of endless light or *Anagar roshan*, (v) the bright, happy and blissful abode of the pious, (vi) the shining *Grônamâna*, and (vii) the *Hadhana Hadhanâ Tanasuç*. The three heavens: *Hûmat*, *Hûkht* and *Hûvarsht*, described by Arda-i-Viraf, may be identified with the *Satarpâya*, *Mâhpaya* and *Khûrshedpâya* of the *Rashnu Yasht*, which identification has the support of MK., vii., 12. The last heaven of the *Rashnu Yasht* has no definite meaning, but it is certainly a place superior to the *Grônamâna* or Garôtmân.—Tr.]

[2] MK., vii., 1-12.

history under the name of Adarbâd Mâhrespand), sought means to re-establish them in their original purity. Ardâ-i Viraf was chosen as the most holy of all the Desturs of the kingdom. It seems that one of his principal claims to this reputation had been his practice of the khvetûkdaç,—he had each of his seven sisters for wives.![1] After performing several ceremonies a dose of the narcotic called *mang* was administered to this holy man, who soon fell into a kind of sleep and his soul departed to the next world and remained there for seven days. During this time Ardâ-i Vîrâf, like Dante, traversed the Cinvat Bridge and visited in detail the heavens and hells, a minute description of which he has left us, and which reminds us in a striking manner of the immortal Italian epic. His guides were the two angels, Çrôsh and Âtaro.

---

[1] AVN., ii., 1-2. [These seven sisters of Viraf were not actually his wives, but were quite dependent upon him for their maintenance and support, just as a wife is dependent upon her husband; which is clear from the second chapter of the *Ardâ-i Virâf Nameh*. In the beginning of this chapter it is said: "And that Viraf had seven sisters and every one of these seven sisters of Viraf was *like* a wife unto him" (*va varman Virâf râi haft khâtman yehevûnt, va varmanshân kanâ haft khâtmanân Virâf cigûn neshman yehevûnt homand*, paras 1, 2.) Here the term *cigun* implies a condition similar to that of a wife and not the actual condition of a wife. Further on these seven sisters themselves say: "And we all seven sisters are (like) wives unto that brother, just as the door of a house whose seven lintels are fixed in one pillar. He who shall remove that pillar will make these lintels fall. In like manner, for us seven sisters is this the only brother who is our life and maintenance" (*va kanâ haft khâtman varman akh néshmanîh homanîm, cîgûn khânak-i babâ mavan haft fraçp va çtûn-i azîr dayan anâtônâd jaknîmûnâd. Mavan zak çtûn banâ josgûnd varmanshân fraçpân banâ oftînand. Avîn rôman haft khâtman râi akh gôman aîvak aêt mavan mân zîvashna va dâçûnashna*, paras. 10-13). Thus these seven sisters of Viraf were not actually married to their brother, but being unmarried and without any support in life were merely dependent upon him for their maintenance. It is still a custom among the modern Zoroastrians, as it was in the time of Arda-i Viraf, that unmarried sisters and daughters remain dependent for their support in life only upon their parents or a brother or even a brother-in-law. Cf, Darâb Dastur Peshotan Sanjana, *The Alleged Practice of Next-of-kin Marriages in Old Irân*, p. 35.—Tr.]

284. After having passed the bridge he first of all visited the place of *Hamestakân*,[1] about which we shall speak later on. Then he traversed the three inferior heavens.

In the *Hûmat* heaven which occupies the starry region (*çtar-pâik*) he saw some souls whose radiance was glittering like stars. These souls belonged to those who had offered no prayers and chanted no *Gâthâs* and practised no *khvêtûkdaç;* they had exercised no sovereignty and had governed no province or tribe (*khûtâih, daçûpatîh, çardârîh*); but they had been pious and had done good works.[2]

In the second heaven *Hûkht* the souls had the splendour of the moon. Nothing is said of their social position, but they had not practised the three acts of piety mentioned above, though otherwise they had been virtuous.[3]

The third heaven *Hûvarsht* contained good kings, rulers and chiefs.[4]

285. Each pious soul has to go by exactly the same path to the three heavens in order to arrive at the supreme light of the *Garôtmân*.

At the threshold of the supreme heaven, all the Ameshoçpands[5] and the yazds as well as the souls of the pious[6], with genuine oriental courtesy, advance to receive the new-comer, as they did for Virâf. They ask him how he has been able to come from the material world to immortality? and invite him to accept the hospitality of heaven.[7]

---

[1] AVN., vi.

[2] Ibid., vii.

[3] Ibid., viii.

[4] AVN., ix. Haug is of opinion that the inhabitants of these three inferior heavens are not the righteous belonging to the Mazdayasnian religion but to the foreign religions; and this seems probable enough. *Introductory Essay*, p. lxii.

[5] MK., ii., 147.

[6] AVN., x., 2.

[7] MK., ii., 148, 149; AVN., x., 3-5. [Cf. also Yt. xvii., 16, and Yt. xxiv., 62.—Tr.]

"Do not ask him anything," then cries out the Creator Aûharmazd, "since he, separated from his body, has arrived by the terrible way; but bring him the most delicious food, the *Maidyôzarem raôgan,*[1] so that he may rest himself from 'the bridge of the three nights,' and make him sit on a throne adorned with precious stones."[2]

This celestial food is called *anôsh* by Ardâ-i Virâf, which literally means 'ambrosia' (from *hôsh=death*). The former name signifies 'oil or butter of the Maidyôzarm feast,' one of the Gahambârs or feasts of the seasons,—a kind of thick liquor. This drink is offered by the yazds to the soul of every pious man and woman who enters into glory.[3]

286. Arrived at this point of his itinerary, Virâf tells us that Vohûman held him by the hand[4] and presented him to Aûharmazd himself, who, however, as we have seen, is only visible under the form of light, like the שכינה of the Old Testament. There he met the *fravâhars* of Gâyômart, Zartûst, Vishtâsp, and other heroes of antiquity, as well as the yazds. Are these *fravâhars* united with the souls of the saints mentioned above? Virâf does not say anything about this, but one may deduce it from psychological principles.

287. Then he went round the supreme heaven and saw all the recompenses of the righteous. His description of them is however very short. Haug has drawn up a list of virtues and good deeds worthy of recompense.[5] These are again those which we have already spoken of in the preceding chapter, viz. liberality, chanting of the *Gâthâs*, practice of *khvetûkdaç*, good government, veracity, destruction of

---

[1] [Cf. Yt. xxii., 17, 18 and Yt., xxiv., 63, 64—Tr.]

[2] MK., ii., 150-154.

[3] Ibid., 256. [Cf. Yt., xxii., 18 and Yt., xxiv., 64—Tr.]

[4] [Cf. Vd., xix., 31—Tr.]

[5] AVN., *Introductory Essays*, pp. lxiii.-lxiv.

[6] The kings and chiefs in the *Hûvarsht* heaven are probably non-Mazdayasnians.

khrafçtars, care of cattle and agriculture, instruction of the ignorant, peace-making, etc.[1]

All these souls were in glory, splendidly clothed and full of happiness. The souls of women, virtuous and obedient to their husbands, seemed to be placed apart.[2]

288. As to the pleasures of heaven Virâf does not say anything. But we learn from the other sources that the souls of the blessed are immortal, impassible, fearless, resplendent, full of joy, full of happiness, and full of kindness. They perpetually enjoy an odoriferous breeze, the fragrance of which resembles that of basil (*çparham*); they have no satiety of their celestial life; they enjoy for ever and ever the society of the Yazds, Ameshoçpands and all the righteous.[3]

(ii)—*Hell.*

289. The souls whose sins exceed their good deeds go to hell (*dûshahû*, the bad place (world)). We have a description of this place of torments given by Virâf. It is much longer and more full of details than that of heaven.

There are first three primary hells, corresponding to the three divisions of heaven, and a deeper place. The first three are called Dûshmat, Dushûkht and Dushvarsht, after which a fourth step conducts the soul of the wicked to the deepest darkness (*târîktûm*), where Aharman himself rules.[4]

290. Hell is in the middle of the earth (*dûshahû yîn-mêhân damîk*).[5] It must also be distinguished from the 'endless darkness,' where Aharman lived before the creation.[6] The evil spirits come out from it through a hole, the opening of

---

[1] AVN., xii.-xv.
[2] AVN., xiii.
[3] MK., vii., 13-17; AVN., xv., 21-22.
[4] MK., vii., 20-22. [Cf. Yt., xxii., 33.—Tr.]
[5] BD., iii., 27.
[6] Spiegel, EA., II, 121.

which is on the mount Arezûr, which is in the direction of Arûm (the Greek Empire).[1]

All around hell there is a great river, which is gloomy and miserable. It is formed of the tears of those who had made lamentations for their departed,[2] which action was forbidden by Mazdeism.

291. After having described at length the pains of those condemned to hell, Virâf says that Çrôsh and Âtaro conducted him 'into a desert on the mount *Ckût-i dâitîk*,[3] below the Cinvat Bridge,' and showed him 'the hell on the earth in the middle of this desert, below the Cinvat Bridge.'[4] Haug believes that this passage refers to a different hell. But although this passage is obscure, yet it seems to us that it describes nothing else than the darkest hell where Aharman lives, because the groans and cries of Aharman and his demons resounded from this place in such terrible wise that Virâf was frightened and much disturbed, for he imagined they would shake the seven *kêshvars* of the world. Then re-assured by his guides, he went on 'further into this gloomy hell,'[5] the description of which is given by him in the next chapter.

292. As soon as the soul enters this frightful place the cowardly and cruel Aharman and his demons begin to treat him with mockery.

"What evil hast thou done to Aûharmazd and his sweet-scented, well-pleasing heaven? Why comest thou to see us and our gloomy hell.[3] Is it in order that we may do thee harm and have no pity on thee, that thou mayst suffer a torture of long duration?"[6]

---

[1] BD., xii., 8, 16.
[2] AVN., xvi.
[3] See § 276.
[4] AVN., liii., 1, 3.
[5] Ibid., 4-11.
[6] [Cf., Yt., xxii., 34—Tr.]

Then they begin to maltreat him. Here he suffers a cold like unto that of the coldest ice and snow; there he suffers heat equal to that of a burning fire; elsewhere the *khrafçtars* gnaw him just as a dog does a bone; there is such a stench as he totters and falls.[1] There the darkness is such that one can hold it by the hand.[2]

293. Virâf describes with full particulars the torments of different sinners, which he saw in hell. There is a total want of order in his description, and the same sins are often repeated in several places. The faults punishable in hell are those which we have already described in our chapter on Ethics. Haug has arranged all of them in order in his introduction,[3] where we find no less than fifty sins compared.

294. The punishments of sins are highly varied. Nothing is more hideous and more horrible than these atrocious torments, which surpass the most grotesque representations of the Middle Ages. Heat and cold, noxious animals, all kinds of filth and every manner of torturing the body are made use of in this punishment. There is no doubt that during the life-time of the author many such tortures were employed in Persia, perhaps as at present: the cruelty of the executioners of the East is well known.

295. There is often a certain analogy between sins and their punishments,—an application of the law of retaliation, which reminds us of many of the pains of hell described by Dante.[4] Those who have maltreated cattle are trodden under their feet. Serpents gnaw the tongues of slanderers. The tongues of liars are cut off. Those who have used false weights and measures are always occupied in weighing and measuring ashes which they are forced to swallow, &c.[5]

---

[1] *Barzend*, see West, Muséon, vol. II., No. 3.
[2] MK., vii., 23-31.
[3] pp. lxx.-lxxi.
[4] Cf. Ortolan, *Les Pénalités de l'Enfer de Dante.*
[5] AVN., lv., lxvi., xcvii., xxvii.

296. Zartûsht also had a vision of hell, which reminds us, in a striking manner, of the parable of the wicked Dives and Lazarus: "I have seen a celebrated man possessing much wealth, whose soul, (which had lived) infamously in the body, was sickly and famished in hell, and did not seem to me (more) exalted; and I have seen a beggar, without either wealth or help, whose soul was flourishing in heaven."[1]

297. The interior of hell, as described by the Bûn-Dehesh, is cold, dry, stony and dark. Its darkness is such as can be grasped by the hand, and its stench is such as can be cut with a knife. But its solitude is worse than its punishments, because if there be a thousand men in the space of a span, each of them thinks himself to be alone. The seven planets exercise their malignant influence over it. The food of the souls condemned to hell is brimstone, lizards and other abominable dishes.[2]

298. In the same manner Virâf says that the souls of the wicked stand as close as the ear is to the eye, and they are as many in number as there are hairs in the mane of a horse, but they neither see nor hear each other, and each of them thinks: 'I am quite alone'! And when a soul has been only one day in this place, he thinks that he has been there for three thousand years.[3]

299. In another chapter we have already remarked that the bodies which the condemned souls assume are probably special bodies formed *ad hoc* before the time of the final resurrection. There is also a case in which a man condemned to hell assumes the body of a serpent with a human head.[4]

300. The justice of the punishment in hell is so scrupulous that the lazy Davânôs, who is punished for not having

[1] BY., ii., 12.

[2] BD., xxviii., 47, 48. [Cf. Yt xxii., 36. According to Yaçna xxxi., 20, a long duration of misery and darkness, bad food and woful words are the punishments in hell. See A. V. Williams Jackson, *A Hymn of Zoroaster: Yaçna* 31, p. 15; also Darmesteter, *the Zend Avesta*, part II., p. 321 n. 1—Tr.]

[3] AVN., liv., 5-11; xviii., 10, 11.

[4] AVN., xxxvi.

made a good use of his riches during life, suffers nothing in his right foot, with which he once pushed a bundle of grass before a ploughing ox[1] or a sheep,[2] for no good deed remains without its recompense. In the same manner the right foot of a lascivious man is exempt from the punishment of the boiling caldron, because in his life-time he destroyed with this foot the *khrafçtars* of Aharman.[3] It is in the same order of ideas that a husband, though in heaven, is reproached for having neglected the instruction and correction of his wife, whose punishment in hell is only darkness and stench.[4]

301. As regards the duration of the pains of hell the *Mainyo-i Khard* says that the punishment of the wicked in hell is for all eternity (*andâ hamê u hamê raveshnî*).[5] However, other authorities do not agree on this point, as we shall see when we speak about the end of the world. But the *Mainyo-i Khard* itself expressly mentions that Aharman will be annihilated or destroyed;[6] it is therefore evident that the abovementioned expression indicates only the end of the world as it is well shown by Windischmann.[7]

(iii)—*The Hamêçtagân.*

302. We must not consider the *Hamêçtagân* or the third place where the souls go as the Purgatory of the Christians. It is rather the place where go the souls of those whose good and evil deeds are in equilibrium at the end of this life.[8]

This region extends from the earth to the stars. The souls suffer there only the heat and cold produced in the atmosphere.[9]

303. This remarkable conception is altogether post-Avestaic and offers us one of those developments so natural to the Eranian mind, ever fond of systematisation. However,

---

[1] AVN., xxxii. [2] SIS., xii., 29 [3] AVN., lx.
[4] AVN., lxviii. [5] MK., xl., 31. [6] MK., viii., 13.
[7] *Zor Stud.*, p. 232. [8] MK., xiii., 15; AVN. vi; SIS., vi., 2.
[9] MK., vii., 18-19; AVN., vi.

Dr. Roth has recently[1] tried to prove that this doctrine is found also in the Avesta, by giving a new translation of a stanza of the Yaçna, xxxiii., 1. We do not think that the learned Sanskritist of Tübingen will be successful in convincing his readers. His theory is principally based upon an altogether new interpretation of the word *hĕm-yâçaite*, which he translates 'sich ausgleichen' = to equalize one's self, and identifies with the name of *hamêçtagân*.[2] Further he believes to have found a related term in Pehlevi, the *hamyâçto* of the Dinkart.[3]

304. Although the argument of Dr. Roth on the Avestaic words seems to us feeble enough, yet it does not fall within our limits to refute it. It will be sufficient for us to refer on this subject to an article which Professor de Harlez has contributed to Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*.[4] In the meantime it remains for us to raise some points regarding the argument drawn from the Pehlevi language.

(i) There can exist no doubt of the etymology of the word *hameçtagân* or *hameçtakân*. It is, as Roth himself sees, a plural, and was first applied to the souls themselves; but it is evidently composed of *hami* and *çtak* derived from the root *çtâ*; it signifies therefore 'those who are in equilibrium,' or according to West, 'the ever stationary.' No Pehlevi scholar would admit its connection with the root *yâç*, whatever signification may yet be given to this word.

(ii) Roth would like to read the Pehlevi term rather as *hamyâçtakân*. But although this reading can be quoted for several texts (along with such forms as *hamyaçtakân*, *hamaçtakân*, etc.), yet it is seen at once that for the theory of Roth it should be *hamyâçtakân* with a long *a* in the middle, of which there is positively no trace.

---

[1] Z. D. M. G., xxxvii., pp. 223-228. 'Die Seelen des Mittelreichs in Parsismus.'

[2] He is surprised that neither Bartholomæ nor de Harlez has discovered this etymology, p. 226.

[3] Dk., II., 87, 3.

[4] Tom ix., pp. 294-299.

(iii) That Dr. West[1] may rather be right in interpreting the word *hamîh açto* given in the *Dinkart* as 'is with' or 'is in harmony with,' follows from the fact that the whole chapter treats of this *hamîh* or harmony, which even gives its name to the chapter: 'the harmony of the lowest, of the middle and of the highest;' *kaçîçt va mîhânak va mahîçt hamîh.* Thus, again, the word has no connection with the root *yûç.*

305. Moreover, Roth has misunderstood the phrase that he quotes, which simply means: 'all mankind in the material world are in harmony with the spiritual world' (*hâm gêhûno martûm mînishnîk levatman ahâo hamîh açto*).

We therefore come to the conclusion that the Avesta does not know anything about the *Hamêçtagân.*[2]

II.—*END OF THE WORLD.*

(*a*)—*The last Millennia.*

306. The Mazdayasnians possess a kind of Apocalypse which describes with much detail the end of the world: this is the *Bahman Yasht,* translated by West in his Pehlavi Texts,

[1] Quoted by Roth, (p. 226), who confesses that the eminent Pehlevi scholar is against him, and recognises the possibility of the necessity of abandoning the argument.

[2] [Though the doctrine of *Hamêçtagân* is not to be found in the extant Avesta texts, yet there is possibility to believe that, like other doctrines, it was developed in the Pehlevi works from some Avesta Nask which is now lost but which might be extant in the times of the Sassanians. However, Ervad K. E. Kanga in his *Glossary of the Vendidad,* p. 204, translates the word *miçvâna gâtu* by 'the place of the middling reward, *i.e.*, Hameçtagân,' and Professor Justi in his *handbuch,* p. 233, under the word *miçvâna* says that it is 'the always useful place, *i.e.*, the place where the supernumerary work of the pious is preserved in order to add something, if necessary, at the judgment of a believing soul, which is yet wanting to counterbalance the number of evil works. This treasure is preserved in a space which the Minok Khirad and the Ardâi Vîrâf Nâmeh call Hameçtagân." But *miçvâna gâtu* is probably the *Cinvat Bridge* which is the place of perpetual retribution. This is also evident from Vd., xix., 36: *Nizbayemi miçvânahe gâtvahe qadhâtahe cinvat-pêrêtûm mazdadhâtâm.* "I praise the Mazda-created Cinvat Bridge of the natural place of perpetual retribution."—Tr.]

vol. I. The Bûn-Dehesh also contains an important chapter on the last days.

It is at the end of the millennium of Zartûsht,—the millennium in which we are, (and which therefore should have ended many centuries since),—that the signs of the end of things will begin to appear. These will be the spots on the sun, the growth of all kinds of crimes, the barrenness of the earth, the physical and moral degeneration of man. The demon Aêshm will rage everywhere, the religious rites will be neglected. There will be hot and cool winds but no rain, the sky will be covered with the clouds of night. The Turanians and the Aryans will be the sovereigns of the world.[1]

307. Then come the three millennia of Hôshêdar, Hôshêdar Mâh and Soshyâns.[2] Each of these prophets, born miraculously, makes the true religion and the Eranian people triumphant for a time. The first is he who as the sign of his mission makes the sun to stop for three days.[3]

During the millennium of Hôshêdar Mâh men will make an extraordinary progress in the science of medicine and will no more die so easily. Also Kêrêçâçp will be roused up from his sleep of centuries and will kill Azh-i Dahâk.[4]

308. At last comes the millennium of Soshyâns, the last prophet. During this epoch the appetite will gradually diminish and men will desist at first from eating meat, then from eating vegetable and milk, then from eating bread and lastly they will live only upon water.[5]

(*b*)—*Resurrection of the Dead.*

309. Then there will be the resurrection of the dead. We know that it will be easily accomplished by the power of

---

[1] BY,. ii., 31-53.

[2] [These are Ukhshyat-êrta, Ukhshyat-nêma and Astvat-êrta of the Avesta.—Tr.]

[3] BY., iii., 45. [4] Ibid., 52, sqq.

[5] BD., xxx., 1-3. [Cf. Yt., xix., 96. Horvatât and Amêrêtât, *i.e.*, health and immortality shall destroy hunger and thirst.—Tr.]

Aûharmazd.[1] Every man will rise from the same place where he fell dead.[2] Sodomites, apostates, and men born of the demons are excluded from the resurrection,[3] and among these will be Afrâsyâb who has himself become a demon by his crimes.[4] Men will revive in the order of their creation firstly Gâyômart, then Mâshya and Mâshyôi, then the other righteous and wicked men; and this resurrection will take up a period of fifty-seven years.[5] They will know their relations and friends. All will be brilliant, but Gâyômart will have as much lustre as that of all others taken collectively. Then will take place the great assembly where the good and evil actions of each man will be made visible. The wicked will become as conspicuous 'as a white sheep among the black ones.' The righteous man, who has however neglected to check his friend who acted sinfully, will reap great shame for his negligence.[6]

Then will follow the separation of the righteous from the wicked, a separation painful even to the righteous. Then the wicked will be horribly tortured in hell for three days.[7]

310. All this regeneration (*tanû-i paçîn*)[8] will be accomplished under the direction of the prophet Soshyâns, who will have for assistants certain men and women who have been preserved from death in the mystical regions, like that of Aîrân Vêj, the reminiscence of the primitive country of the Aryas, which has become a sort of *officina gentium* for the last ages. This country seems to be in Khvanîraç[9], on the shores of the ocean.[10] It contains the *Var* or the enclosure

---

[1] BD., xxx., 4-6.

[2] SIS., xvii., 11-14. [Cf. Yt., xix, 89. *Yat iriçta paiti uçêhistâ*.—Tr.]

[3] SIS., xvii., 7. [4] Dk., III., 110, 13.

[5] BD., xxx., 7-8. [6] BD., xxx., 9-11. [7] BD., xxx., 12-16.

[8] Literally 'the future body,' the new body that every one will assume at the time of the resurrection. This term is generally used for the resurrection itself, cf. § 52.

[9] MK., lxii., 31. [10] MK., lxii., 34.

formed and governed by Yim; it is under the earth[1] and is one of the abodes of these immortals.[2]

Professor de Harlez has demonstrated that this minute description of the resurrection of the body is probably a second apocalyptical narration inserted in the midst of the other, which occupies the remainder of the chapter of the Bûn-Dehesh,[3] and which runs on in the following manner:—

'Αποκατάστασις.

311. The star or comet Gôcîhar will fall from the sky and will make the whole earth tremble like a sheep before a wolf. Then will burst out the great conflagration of the earth, which will melt all the metals even in the mountains, and will make a vast river of burning liquid metal. This river will be the ordeal which all the righteous and wicked must pass through. For the righteous it will be pleasant and agreeable like warm milk, and will be the source of their splendour. But for the wicked it will be a terrible punishment.[4]

312. But this burning matter will purify everything. Even the wicked will be purified by it from all stains. Soshyâns will make the great sacrifice of the ox Hadhayôs,[5] and from his fat and the juice of the white Hôm the ambrosia (*hûsh*) will be prepared and given to all men. Thus men will become immortal. The adults will have the age of forty years, and the young that of fifteen. Husband and wife, parents and children will meet together, but they will beget no more children.[6]

313. Then will follow the last great battle of the spirits of which we have spoken before,[7] and the destruction of Azh

[1] MK., lxii., 15.

[2] BD., xxix., 1-5.

[3] *Introduction*, p. cxlvii. The first narration occupies chap. xxx., 1-3 and 17-33; the second occupies chap. xxx., 4-16.

[4] BD., xxx., 18-20; Dk., vi., 169.

[5] See chap. IV., § 182.

[6] BD., xxx., 25, 26.

[7] See chap., III., § 102.

in the molten metal by the power of the star Gôcîhar.[1] We have already treated elsewhere of the end of Aharman.[2]

314. But the river of the molten metal will finally purify hell itself, so that this place of punishment will be restored and added to the world.

"By the will of Aûharmazd the renovation of the universe will be accomplished and the world will be immortal for ever and ever"[3]

"Praise be to Him," cry out the faithful, "praise be to the merciful Lord, who makes the final retribution.....and who will at the end deliver the wicked from hell and restore the whole creation in purity!"[4]

---

[1] BD., xxx., 30, 31. [2] See chap., II., § 82, sqq.

[3] BD., xxx., 31, 32. See the Dissertation of Windischmann on the end of the world, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 231-259.

[4] Dk., II., 81, 6. [It will not be out of place to give here the following description of the final resurrection of the world which is found in the Avesta, chiefly in Yasht xix: Astavat-erta (Çaoshyãç) shall take birth in a place on the lake Kãçava (Yt., xix., 92) of a woman of the name of Viçpa-taurvairi, otherwise called Eredat-fedhri (Yt., xiii., 142 and Yt., xix., 92). He shall look down upon the whole creation of the world with the eye of wisdom. He shall see the good creation with an eye of love, and the evil one with an eye of contempt, and the whole of the living creation shall get immortality merely by his sight. (Yt. xix., 94). Those who are victorious and of good thought, words, and deeds, and who follow the good Law and speak nothing but the truth, shall be his friends and will assist him in making the resurrection (Yt., xix., 95). Then shall follow a mighty combat between good and evil, between angels and demons, between the powers of light and those of darkness, and this all end in the final destruction of the evil spirits: Aêshma shall bow and flee before Çoshyãç and his comrades. Coshyãç shall smite the most wicked Drûj (Yt., xix., 95). Vohûmano shall smite Akemmano, truth shall smite falsehood, Haurvatât and Amêrêtât shall smite hunger and thirst, and the evil-doing Angro-maînyu becoming powerless shall bow and flee (Yt., xix., 96). The Drûj and her hundredfold progeny shall thenceforth perish (Yt., xix., 90). Then the world shall become fresh; it shall never decay nor become rotten; it shall live and increase for ever, and shall rule according to its wish. Then the dead will rise up and the living will be immortal (Yt., xix., 89).—Tr.]

INDEX I.

THINGS, PLACES AND PERSONS REFERRED TO.

Abân § 109.
Abraham § 54.
Achæmenian Artaxerxes § 3 n.
——dynasty ii n.
Achmænians iii.
Achæmenide kings ii.
Adam § 54.
Aderbad Mâhrespand (Destur, Prime Minister of Shahpur II.) iii, §§ 87 n., 283.
Aêshm } §§ 126, 127, 277,
Aêshma } 306, 314 n.
—— daêva § 126 n.
Afrâsyâb §§ 209, 309.
Africa § 186.
Afrîn-i-Ardâfravash § 116 n.
—— i-Gahambâr § 143 n.
Aharman §§ 5, 44, 45, 52, 53, 65, 66, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81 & n, 82 & n, 84 & n, 85 & n, 90, 91, 92, 101, 102, 115, 123, 124, 126, 128, 139, 158, 159, 160, 164, 179, 182, 184, 187, 193, 208, 212, 213, 220, 223, 225, 226, 245, 249 250, 274, 289, 290, 291; 292, 300, 301, 313; 71-73, 80-85.
Aharmani § 71.
Ahriman §§ 24, 69, 71, 72.
Ahûna-vairya § 13 n.
Ahura § 24.
Ahuramazda §§ 4 n, 13 n, 17 n, 23 & n, 52 n, 59 n, 64 n, 173 n.
Ainin Nâmeh § 145 n.
Aîrân Vêj § 310.
Aîrpat § 237 n.
Akêm-manô § 23 n, 94 n, 314 n.
Akôman §§ 80, 94, 124, 125, 126.
Albûrz §§ 52, 54, 135, 137, 154, 158, 159, 164, 276.
Alexander the Great ii n, iii.
—'s Empire ii n.
Alexandrine School § 57.
Alexandrines § 55.
Alger (W. R.) § 61 n.
Amâraçpands § 96.
Ambrosia §§ 285, 312.
Amêrêtât §§ 308 n, 314 n.
America § 61 n.
American author § 61 n.
Amêrôdât §§ 96, 169.
Amesha-çpentâs §§ 13 n, 24, 60, 95, 98.
Ameshâspands § 24.
Ameshoçpand § 169—(pl.) §§ 34, 41, 50, 52, 75, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 96, 99, 116, 118, 121, 123, 125, 126, 172, 225, 231, 281, 285, 288, 93-97.
Andar § 125.
Andarj-i Khusro-i Kavâtân § 229 n.

Angel § 130 n, the fallen—§§ 65, 66 & n, the reprobate)—§ 5.—(pl.) §§ 24, 34, 61 n, 95, 96, 98, 108, 130 n, 277, 278, 283 guardian—§ 91, inferior —§ 24—of resurrection § 108.
Angelic Hierarchies § 95.
Angrômainyush §§ 17 n, 23 n, 82 n.
Anklesharia (Tehmuras Dinshahji) § 116 n.
Annals of the Mazdayasnian religion, ii.
Anosharavân § 161 n.
Anquetil Du Perron § 17 n.
Anthropomorphism § 37.
Anti-Aryan theory § 175 n.
Apaosh §§ 109, 127, 156, 160.
Apocalypse § 306.
Apocalyptical narration § 310.
Apostate § 265.—(pl.) §§ 264, 265, 309.
Arab Conquest. i, iv, vi, § 86.
Arabian Sea § 163.
Arabs. i.
Arag § 164.
Aramaïc § 122.
Araxes § 164.
Archangels §§ 95, 96.
Arch demon § 187—(pl.) § 75.
Arch fiends § 123.
Arcturus § 133 n.
Ardâ-i Vîrâf §§ 37, 76, 90, 105, 108, 191, 225, 228, 233, 256, 272, 273, 278, 282 n, 283 & n, 285, 286, 288, 289, 291, 293, 298. vision of—§§ 279, 280. —(holy Destur) § 283.
Ardâ-i Vîrâf Nameh, iv, §§ 3, 238 n, 272, 283 n, 305 n. Pope's English translation of—§ 279.
Ardeshir I., iii.—Papakân. ii. —the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty § 262.
Ardvîçûr §§ 121, 155.
Arêzûr (mount) § 290.
Aristotle. ii n.
Arhmen § 16.
Armenia § 263 n.
Armenian historian § 217 —(pl.) §§ 3, 15—writer § 218—(pl.,) § 9 & n.—Vartabed § 6.
Armenians § 17.
Arsacides, Arsacidæ } ii n, iii.
Arshisang § 110.
Art § 110.
Artavahisht § 96.
Artaxerxes, II. iii.—III. iii.
Arûm, v. §§ 263, 290.
Aryans, Arians } ii n, § 306.
Aryan Mythology § 174—Nature worship § 175—Origin § 103—Theory § 175 & n.
Aryas §§ 174, 310.
Arzah §§ 160, 163.
Âçmân (created heaven) § 12 —(personification of the material sky) § 109—(Spirit of the sky) § 101.
Açmâno § 109.
Açnavand § 166.
Açno-khart §§ 110, 124, 126.
Açto-vîdhât § 127.
Ashavâhisht § 121.
Âshtâd § 108.
Asia § 160 n.
Asmodeus § 126 n.
Aspenjargâk §§ 73, 154.
Assyrian sculptures § 182.

Assyriology § 175.
Assyriologists § 175 n.
Astvat-êrta 307 n, 314 n.
Âtaro §§ 90, 105, 277, 278, 283, 291.
Âtaro Frobâg § 145 n.
Âtarôpâd-i-Marspandân (*see* Âderbad Mahrespand).—son of Zartûsht § 255.
Aûharmazd §§ 3, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 & n. 23, 24, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 59, 64, 66, 68, 70 & n, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81 & n, 82, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 106, 115, 116, 119, 121, 123, 124, 126, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 139, 142, 150, 154, 156, 159, 164, 179, 183, 184, 187, 191, 193, 213, 214, 220, 223, 224, 225, 231, 245 n, 257, 258, 271, 274, 281, 285, 286, 292, 309, 314, 18-22 27-44—(beneficent to all) § 27—Creator and Preserver § 27 n—Benevolent and merciful § 27—All in all § 30—Combats with the Evil Spirit § 28—Creator of all creatures § 41—author of the sacred writings § 43—God §§ 3, 14, 15, 17—Spirit of the spirits §§ 27, 132—intangible spirit §§ 27, 37—Omniscient and omnipotent § 27—supreme sovereign §§ 27, 31—Supreme possessor and Lord, § 29—supreme in omniscience § 28—perfectly good § 27—wise creator § 31—supporter § 31—protector § 31—giver of good things § 31—virtuous in actions § 31—merciful § 31—pure legislator § 31—Lord of the good creations § 31—supreme being § 27—the Lord §§ 159, 165.
Aûramazda ii.
Avân § 109.
Avesta i, ii n, iv & n, §§ 4 n, 8, 11, 13 n, 14 n, 23 & n, 24, 26, 31, 37, 43, 48, 50, 55 n, 56, 59, 60, 71, 81 n, 82 n, 85 n, 89 n, 93, 94 n, 95, 103, 107 n, 108, 113, 118, 122, 127 n, 136, 142 n, 143 n, 155, 158, 165 n, 173, 175 & n, 213, 234, 235 & n, 237, 244. 245, 256, 279 n, 303, 305, 314 n. Origin of the—ii n. Commencement of the—ii. Development of the—iii.—translated into Pehlevi iii.—Nasks vi. n, § 305 n.—texts ii.—alphabet iii.—doctrine § 85 n—document § 143 n.—beliefs §. 9—times § 129—traditions vi.
Avestaic } books § 61 n.—
Avestean } characters § 274—doctrine §§ 175, 271—doctrines § 233—people

§ 175 n—philosophy § 201 n—religion i, ii, §§ 9, 13 n, 23—system §§ 98, 112—time § 175 n. —words § 304.
Azarpâjoh § 161 n.
Azh §§ 82, 313.—i Dahak §§ 107, 307.

Babylonia § 9.
Babylonian } Captivity § 61 n.
Babylonish }
—Cosmogony §§ 133 n. 152—traditions § 101.
Babylonian and Oriental Record § 229 n.
Babylonians ii. n.
Bactria ii, § 61 n.
Bactro-Persian Circle of ideas § 61 n—doctrinal belief § 61 n—speculations § 61 n.
Bagdâd § 26.
Bahman Yasht iv, § 306.
Bartholomæ § 303.
Battle of the Spirits § 313.
Beelen §§ 54, 56 n.
Barezisavang § 165.
Bezzenberger's Beiträge § 304.
Bhagavadgîtâ § 227 n.
Bible § 143.
Biblical account § 174.
Bombay v, § 116 n, 225.
Boötes § 133.
Brucker (Haar) § 69.
Bûn-Dehesh iv, vi, §§ 3, 11, 13, 17 n, 28, 30, 35, 38, 51, 65, 70 & n, 73, 76, 82, 85, 91, 92, 93, 101, 123, 125, 127, 134, 143 n, 144, 158, 162 n, 165 & n, 167, 169, 171, 173, 180, 185, 188, 297, 306, 310.
Bûrj § 155.
Bûrzîn Mîtro § 166.
Bushasp § 127.

Cakat-i-daîtîk (mount) § 291.
Camrôsh §§ 169, 175 n, 182 & n.
Candor Bridge § 52.
de Cara § 126 n.
Casuistic science § 244.
Categorical assertion v.
Celestial archetypes § 119—antitypes § 119.
Cerberus § 279.
China § 160 n.
Chosroës Anosharavân § 229 n.
Christ § 61 n.
Christian art § 37—circle of belief § 61 n—circle of ideas § 61 n—doctrine §§ 60, 61, 65—doctrines § 85 & n—idea § 5—ideas, vi & n, § 61 & n—influence § 23—influences § 5—morality § 238—religion v, §§ 23 n, 61 n, 263—sense § 11—source § 61 n—theology §§ 61 n, 65, 95, 98, 249.
Christianity §§ 61 n, 64, 66 & n, 263.
Christians §§ 61 & n, 64, 66, 258.
Cinvat Bridge §§ 103, 105, 108, 127, 242, 273, 276, 279, 283, 291; 276-280; 305 n.
Comparative Mythology § 175.
Cosmic egg § 152.
Cosmogony §§ 13, 134 Babylonian—§§ 133 n, 152, Mazdayasnian—§ 91 Phœnician—§ 152.

Cosmological system §§ 147, 151.
Cosmology §§ 52, 281; 130-182, Mazdayasnian—§ 130, Sassanian—§ 154.
Ctesias § 186 n.
Cuneiform inscriptions, iii, § 26—texts § 175.
Cynocephalis § 186.
Cyrus (the anointed of the Lord) i., the river—§ 164.

Dâdistân-i-Dînîk. vii, §§ 30 n 76, 278 n.
Daîr-i-Shar § 1.
Dakhmas § 245 n.
Damasius § 13.
Dâmdâd nask § 203 n.
Dante §§ 37 n, 283, 295.
Darius, i. iii, § 3 n.
Darmesteter §§ 263 n, 297 n.
Davânos § 300.
Demi-dêvs § 209.
Demon §§ 122, 193, 231, 245, 309—of Anger § 106—of Christianity § 127—of Death § 127—of Drought § 156—of Scepticism § 124—(pl) §§ 44 52, 66, 70, 73, 74, 75, 80, 82, 90, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 116, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 132, 135, 139, 156, 159, 160, 179, 180, 187, 188, 193, 209, 212, 216, 225, 238, 245, 249, 261, 277, 278, 279, 291, 292, 309; 22-129.
Destiny §§ 5, 6 n, 7, 8, 9, 10, 33, 40, 46, 47, 48, 67, 217; 5-13—attached to Sphere § 13—attached to Infinite Time § 13—of the Greeks § 13—the strongest being § 13—(cipihr) § 13.
Destur } §§ 214, 236, 251—
Dastur } of the Good Law §§ 31, 255—(pl.) §§ 17 n, 21, 254, 283.
Dêv §§ 122, 209—(pl.) §§ 186, 209, 216, female—§§ 122, 127, Christian—§§ 65, 66.
Devil (Jewish) §§ 65, 66.
Dinâ-i-Mainog-i-Khirad § 49.
Dinkart. v, vi & n, vii n, §§ 3, 5, 23 n, 24, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 55 & n, 57, 60, 61, 62, 74, 85 n, 87, 93, 128, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 158, 173 & n, 192 n, 196, 197, 198, 207, 229, 231, 236, 237 n, 242, 243, 262 n, 264, 272, 275 278, 281, 303, 304.
Dîno §§ 110, 155.
Dirhams § 256.
Dives § 296.
Divine name § 21—nature § 14—Wisdom § 48-56, 56 n, 204
Divinity §§ 10, 99—of time § 6—(pl.) § 22.
Divs § 17.
Doctor of the Soul § 255—of the sacred traditions § 261—(pl.) §§ 21, 259.
Doctrine of Angels § 61 n—of Destiny § 7—of Eternity § 7—of Eternal Zrvan § 9—of Zrvan § 9 n—of Resurrection § 61 n—of Satan §§ 61 n, 66 n—of Wisdom § 55 n.

Dron ceremony § 121—consecration § 121—(pl.) §§ 121, 126.
Drûâsp § 121.
Drûj §§ 78, 115, 122, 314 n—(female demon) § 249—Naçûs § 245—(pl.) §§ 100, 129, 135, 180, 186, 216, 249.
Dualism §§ 4 & n, 10, 17 n, 23, 35, 63, 64, 66, 67, 70 n, 87, 130.
Dualistic doctrine § 70—symmetry § 262 n—system §§ 14, 67, 63-70.
Dûshmat (hell) § 287.
Dûshûkht (hell) § 289.
Dûshvarsht (hell) § 289.

Ecclesiasts § 54.
Ecclesiasticus § 54.
Edict of Mihir Narseh iii, §§ 3, 9, 15, 16.
Egypt § 61 n.
Egyptian culture § 61 n—doctrinal belief § 61 n—speculations § 61 n.
Elisius (historian) §§ 3, 16.
Encyclopædia Britannica ii n.
Epistles of Mânûshchîhar. vii, § 76.
Eran / Iran i, vi, §§ 61 n, 157, 233.
Eranian / Iranian authors § 162—kings § 231—languages iv.—literature § 21—love of dualistic symmetry § 262 n—mind §§ 67, 87, 91, 232, 303—moralists § 239—notions § 238—people § 307—philosophy § 202—religion §§ 2, 21, 61 n—religions § 4—sects §§ 2, 24—spirits § 95—terms § 56—theology § 21—theory § 237.
Eranians / Iranians §§ 4, 12, 13, 14, 35 n, 37, 55 & n, 56, 72, 87, 160, 162, 174, 175, 181, 209 245, 250.
Eranist i, §§ 113, 201—(pl.) iv, §§ 19, 71.
Eredat fedhri § 314 n.
Eschatology §§ 271, 271-31
Eternity §§ 5, 7, 54.
Ethics §§ 55, 81, 189, 210-270, 210, 237, 238.
l'Etoffe de Chinon § 175 n.
Europa § 182.
Europe § 61 n, 160.
Evolution §§ 23, 175, 244—of a pure Aryan Nature-worship § 175.
Extramundane deities § 36.
Eznig (the Armenian historian), iii, §§ 16, 209, 217—(Vartabed) § 6.

Fargard §§ 4 n, 23 n.
Farohars § 112.
Farvardyân § 52.
Fatalism § 47.
Fatalist doctrine § 208—doctrines § 217—ideas § 10—notions § 218—tendency § 120
Female spirit §§ 97, 127.
Fire altar § 175 n—temple § 121—worshippers § 165.
Firmament (space) § 12.
Firozabad § 37 n.
Florival (Levaillant de) § 209
Folk-lore § 180.
Fomalhaut § 133.

Formulæ of Patêt § 257.
Fradadafsh § 160.
Frashkêrêto § 194.
Fravâkain § 188.
Fravâhar §§ 114, 117, 118, 119, 149, 181, 191, 197, 199, 201 & n, 202, 275 —of Aûharmazd § 118—of Zartûsht § 116—(pl.) §§ 101, 112, 115, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 128, 129, 135, 148, 155, 181, 202, 233, 275, 281, 286, 112-120, 201-202, —of celestial spirits § 118—of animals and inanimate objects § 118.
Fravash § 112.
Fravashi § 201 n.
Fravashis § 113, 120 n, 135 n, 275 n—(prototypes) §§ 91, 128.
Fredûn §§ 53, 54, 81.
Free Will § 207.
Frezhist §§ 127 & 277.
Frobâk § 166.
Frohar § 199—(pl.) § 112, 120 n.
Funeral spirits §§ 103, 116; 103-108.

Gahambâr feasts § 126.
Gahambârs §§ 52, 219, 285—(feasts of the seasons) § 285.
Ganâkmînôî §§ 70 & n, 71, 72, 73, 84; 71-73.
Ganj-i Shâyagân §§ 198, 242.
Ganrâkmînôî §§ 71, 73, 82, 124.
Gaôkerena §§ 173 n, 175.
Garothmân, Grôtmân, Grôtmâno } §§ 41, 51, 52, 116, 281, 282, 285.
Gâthâs. vi n, §§ 4 n, 5 n, 28 n, 64 n, 175, 241, 273, 274, 284, 287.
Gatteyrias §§ 6 n, 16 n.
Gayômard, Gayômart } §§ 9, 53, 75, 102, 120, 161, 168, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188, 286, 309—the first man § 54.
Gayomarthiyans §§ 24, 68, 69.
Geiger (Wilhelm, Dr.), ii n, §§ 81, 133 n.
Geldner (Karl F., Prof. Dr.) ii n.
Genesis §§ 143, 174, 175 n—of Aharman § 68.
Genii § 155, abstract—§ 110, physical—§ 109.
Gesenius § 61 n.
Ghanâmînô § 275.
Gheyn (Van den) § 279.
Gnostics § 55.
Gôcîhar §§ 140, 311, 313.
God of Destiny § 8.
Gôkard, Gôkart } §§ 169, 173, 175, 182.
Gôpatshâh § 182.
Gosht-i-Fryâno iv, § 231.
Goshûrvan § 95 n, 116.
Gospel (the fourth) § 62—(pl.) § 62.
Great Bear § 133.
Grecian circle of ideas § 61 n, —kings iii.—philosophy § 61 n.
Greece § 2.
Greek authors § 9 n—civilisation iv.—Empire v, §§ 263, 290—writers ii n, § 9.
Greeks § 13.
Guardian spirit § 130 n—(pl.) § 130 n.
Gujarati version vi.

Gûshasp § 166.
Gûshtâsp §§ 53, 54.

Haoma § 175 n—Zâiri § 175 n—dûraosha § 175 n.
Hadhayôs §§ 182, 312.
Hadokht Nask § 272.
Hameçtagân } §§ 283, 302,
Hameçtakân } 305 & n, 302-305.
Haptôîrang §§ 133, 135 n.
Haptôkrîng § 133.
Haraman § 17.
Hareman § 66.
Harlez (C. de, Prof.) i, §§ 4 n, 10 n, 11 n, 13 n, 19, 21 n, 23 n, 31, 70, 71, 74, 84, 91 n, 95, 101, 103 n, 113, 118 n, 120 n, 129 n, 147 n, 154 n, 175 n, 246 n, 256 n, 257 n, 274 n, 279 n, 303, 304, 310.
Haug, (Martin, Prof.) §§ 9 n, 17 n, 19, 20 n, 22 n, 23 n, 43 n, 52 n, 59 n, 61 n, 117, 211 n, 238, 241 n, 242 n, 249 n, 256 n, 275, 279 n, 284 n, 287, 291, 293.
Heaven §§ 281-288, Hûmat—§§ 282, 284, Hukht—§§ 282, 284, Huvarsht—§§ 282, 284, 287 n, Anagar Roshan—§ 282 n, Garotman—§§ 41, 51, 52, 116, 281, 282, & n, 285, Starpâyak—§ 282 n, Mâhpâyak—§ 282 n, Khûrshidpâyak—§ 282 n, Hadhana Hadhanâ Tanasus—§ 282 n.
Hebrew, §§ 24, 43—origin § 143 n.
Hell §§ 289-301, Dûshmat—§ 289, Dûshûkht—§ 289, Dûshvarsth—§ 289.
Hermippos ii n.
Herodotus §§ 3 n, 13 & n.
Heroes of Antiquity § 286.
Hierarchy § 56.
High Priest § 262.
Hindus §§ 34, 174, 186 n.
Holy Spirit § 23 & n.—of Aûharmazd § 23.
Hôm §§ 121, 155, 175 n—(yellow) § 175 n—(white) §§ 169, 173, 175 & n, 312.
Hormazd § 23.
Horvadât § 96.
Horvatât §§ 308 n, 314 n.
Hôshêdar §§ 107, 138, 307.
Hôshêdar-mâh §§ 138, 307.
Huris § 117 n.
Hûkht (the heaven of good words) §§ 282, 284, 287 n—region § 282.
Hûmat (the heaven of good thoughts) §§ 282, 284—region § 282.
Hûvarsht (the heaven of good deeds) §§ 282, 284, 287 n—region § 282.
Huzvaresh §§ 18, 38—words § 126 n.
Hybrids § 181.

Indus § 164.
Innate Wisdom §§ 51, 54, 56, 221.
Inscriptions of Darius i., Cuneiform—iii, § 26, Pehlevi—§§ 19, 20 Sassanian—§§ 19, 20, 26.
Islamism §§ 10 n, 263.
Israel § 54.
Italian epic (of Dante) § 283

Jackson (A. V. Williams) § 297 n.
Jad-bêsh tree § 173.
Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana (Dastur, Dr.) § 201 n.
Jêh §§ 101, 127 —female demon §§ 75, 76.
Jêm / Jîm §§ 53, 54, 81.
Jews §§ 21, 55 n, 60, 61 n, 66, 174, 237 n, 245, 258.
Jewish circle of belief § 61 n—doctrine of faith § 61 n—influences § 5 —nation § 61 n —religion v, §§ 61 n, 263 —theology § 61 n—writings § 61 n.
Jondishâpûr § 2.
Job § 39 n.
John (St.) §§ 62, 93.
Joshua § 107.
Judea § 61 n.
Judeism §§ 61 n, 66 n.
Judge of the Law § 261.
Judges of the Dead § 277.
Justi (Ferdinand, Prof.) §§ 3 n, 15 n, 17 n, 37 n, 71, 91, 126, 153, 155 n, 162 n, 173, 187 n, 274 n, 305 n.
Justinius (the Latin Historian) ii. n.

Kabulistan § 166.
Kaikhusrav § 52.
Kâmâ (K. R.) ii n, §§ 61 n, 235 n.
Kamak § 182.
Kâmarakân / Kâmarîkân §§ 123, 149.
Kapôda § 182.
Kar-fishes § 182 & n.
Kârnâmak Ardeshirji Pâpakân § 262.
Karshipt § 182.
Kâçava § 314 n.
Kâûs §§ 53, 54, 81.
Kâvâsji Edalji Kânga (Ervad) §§ 12 n, 17 n, 305 n.
Kayomarthian belief § 9 n.
Kayomarthias § 9 n.
Kerêçâsp §§ 107 & n, 307.
Kêshvar §§ 160, 163 —(pl.) §§ 52, 54, 109, 160, 161, 182, 185, 187, 188, 293.
Khashm § 126.
Khava § 179.
Khordeh Avesta § 243.
Khosrav § 2 —Anôsharavân iv, §§ 1, 198.
Khrafstar § 274 —(pl.) §§ 160, 163, 164, 180, 216, 287, 292, 300.
Khûndak § 73.
Khûr § 109.
Khûrshêt § 109.
Khvanîras §§ 160, 188, 310.
Khvêtûdaç / Khvêtûk-daç vii n, §§ 126, 210, 223, 234, 235, 238, 284, 287, 234-237. Practice of—§§ 219, 283.
Kôbâd iii.
Kurdish § 2 n.
Kûshtano Bûjêd § 265.
Kûsti formula § 73.

Laing (Samuel) § 4 n.
Land §§ 1, 2, 61, 141.
Law (religion) §§ 58, 187, 214, 222, 224, 227, 236, 239, 252, 258, 259, 314 n.
Lazarus § 296—of Pharp (the historian) §§ 3, 16.

Lenormant (author of the *Chaldean Magi*) §§ 4 n, 113 n, 133 n, 175 n.
Libra (millennium of) § 184.
Lord of men § 24.
Lücke § 61 n.
Lyra § 133 n.

Magi §§ 3 n, 6, 17 n. Turanian—& § 4.
Magism § 3 & n.
Magu § 3 n.
Mâh § 109.
Maidyôzarm feast § 285—Raôgan § 285.
Mainyo-i Khard. iv, §§ 3, 5, 7, 10, 13, 24, 31 n, 40, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 55 & n, 56 n, 74, 81, 120 & n, 128, 129, 132, 134, 135, 140, 169, 173, 198, 208, 217, 223, 239, 259, 266, 272, 280, 301.
Mainyu Spênishta § 23 n.
Mainyus spentotemô § 23 n.
Manes § 118.
Mâni §§ 9 n, 263, heresy of—iii, system of—§§ 3, 199, 275 n.
Mânichean religion v, § 263.
Mânicheans §§ 23 n, 84 n, 258.
Manuscript material. v.
Manûshcîhar. vii, § 76.
Mâshya §§ 185, 187, 188, 195, 212, 258, 309.
Mâshyoî §§ 185, 187, 188, 195, 212, 258, 309.
Matro § 185.
Matrôyâô § 185.
Mazdak § 9 n, (heresy of—iii., system of—§§ 3, 191 n, 199 n.
Mazdakyas § 9 n.
Mazdayasnian §§ 132, 224, 261, 263, 264—(pl.) i, §§ 9 n, 17, 44, 52, 54, 124, 132, 157, 159, 208, 216, 218, 225, 237 n, 247, 287 n,—altar § 166—anthropogeny § 183,—authors § 113—beliefs § 9 n—books §§ 128, 146,—classification § 132—code § 238,—cosmology § 130,—cosmogony § 71—doctrine § 64—doctrines § 67—dualism § 9—ethics §§ 232, 271—idea § 130 n—kings, iii—law vi, §§ 93, 110—literature § 272,—medicine § 249—notions § 173—Patet § 254—philosophers § 200—philosophy §§ 129 131—priests § 235—principle § 238—religion i, iv, §§ 3, 6, 10, 13 n, 16, 17, 60, 66, 70, 90, 165, 210, 235 n, 238, 259, 261, 263, 283, 284 n—school §§ 9, 93, schools §§ 17, 86—sects §§ 9 n, 10—system §§ 130, 143, 273—theory of death § 245—theories §§ 11, 193 n—writers § 210.
Mazdeism. iii, iv, v, vii, §§ 3 & n, 9 n, 60, 61 n, 63, 64, 87, 93, 103, 112, 120, 129, 130 & n, 189, 193, 234, 237, 238, 246, 290 doctrines of—§ 9 n, decay of—under Alexander iii., final suppression of—by the Arabs iv., records of—ii.
Media. ii, § 3 n.

Medians } ii n.
Medes }
Messiah § 263.
Middle Ages §§ 64, 294.
Mihr Narseh (Minister of Yazdegard I.) ii, §§ 9, 15, 17.
Mihir § 103, 255 n.
Millennium § 306—(pl.) §§ 138, 307; 306 308,—of Hôshêdar §§ 138, 307 — of Hôshêdar Mâh §§ 138, 337 — of Shŏshyãs §§ 307, 308 —of Zartûsht §§ 138, 306.
Mînôî § 89.
Mino-khirad § 49.
Mînok-khirad § 305 n
Mithra § 103.
Mîtôkht §§ 124, 126,
Mîtrô §§ 103, 105, 106, 107, 277, Sassanian—§ 103.
Mobed of mobeds § 262.
Mody (Jivanji Jamshedji) § 120 n.
Mohammed § 117 n.
Mohammedanism, v.
Monotheism, vi & n §§ 4 n, 5, 23, 33, 47, 67.
Monotheistic notions, vi n.
Muhammedan } writers §§ 9
Mohamedan } n., 64—writer § 9 n.
Musalman conquest, vii — period § 9.
Muséon §§ 49, 238 n., 273, 292.
Mûshpar § 140.
Myazd feast § 126.
Mythology §§ 3 n, 182, North-Iranian—§ 3 n.

Nâîkias § 125.
Nâkahet § 125.
Naksh-i Rajab §37 n —Rustam § 37 n.
Nashâk §§ 167, 188.
Nasks § 55 n.
Nâûnghas § 125.
Neandir § 61 n.
Neriosangh } §§ 31 n, 107,
Neryosangh } 132, 153, 263.
Nile, § 164.
Nisibis § 2.
Nîzhîsht §§ 127, 277.
Noah § 54.
Non-Aryan § 264—character § 175—(pl.) §§ 52, 54.
Non-Mazdayasnian races § 237 n.
Non-Mazdayasnians § 237 n.
Novissima § 271.
Nyâishes § 136.

Oecumenical Councils § 61.
Ontology § 149.
Oriental religions §§ 10, 34.
Ormizd } § 15.
Ormizt }
Ortolan § 295 n.
Ox-fish § 182 n.
Oxus § 164.

Pairik § 127,—(pl.) § 127.
Parable of the wicked Dives and Lazarus § 296.
Paragnâ ceremony § 35 n.
Parallelisms § 54.
Pariks § 186.
Parodies § 122.
Pars § 160.
Parsee } § 236 —(pl.) §§ 18,
Parsi } 23, 37, 61 n, 64, 225, 234, 245 n—books § 113—doctors § 21 —religion § 66 —savants § 19—scholars § 235 —scriptures § 61 n.

Parthian kings iii.
Parthians. ii n.
Patêt §§ 234, 259, 261.
Patêt-i-khod §§ 224 n, 257 n.
Patriarchs § 54.
Paul (St.) § 215 n —the Persian iv. §§ 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 141 n, 207.
Pazend § 45 n —texts § 279.
Pêhan § 182.
Pehlevi vii n, §§ 23, 45, 49, 71, 89, 168 n, 303 — authors § 175 n —authorities § 181 —book § 262 —books §§ 24, 25, 42, 56, 73, 81, 118, 119, 173, 175 n, 232, 237 — characters § 21,—coins § 18 —inscriptions §§ 18, 20 —language §§ 237 n, 304—literature iv, §§ 18, 71 —Rivâyet § 187 n — scholar § 304 —system § 254—term § 304—texts ii. n, viii, §§ 9, 59, 235, 237, 247, 279, 306—traditions § 283 —translators § 81 n— translation § 84 n— treatises i, iv, §§ 195, 244, 266, 272— version §§ 165, 186, 243 — writers § 4 n.
Peris § 135.
Persepolis §§ 26 n, 37 n.
Persia ii, iv, §§ 3 n, 17 n, 61 n, 81, 160, 294.
Persian (old) §§ 24 n, 26 — (modern) §§ 24, 205 — Empire i, ii n —faith § 61 n —Gulf § 163 — people § 13 n —province § 61 n —Rivayets vii — supremacy § 61 n — theology § 61 n —tradition § 3 n —translation §§ 211, 279 —writers § 4 n.
Persians, ii n, §§ 3 n, 18, 61 n, 217.
Peshotun Behramji Sanjana (Dastur, Dr.) v, vi, vii n, §§ 20 n, 23 n, 24, 27, 31, 34, 37, 57, 71, 74, 83, 147 n, 148, 152, 158 n, 161 n, 173, 180 n, 192 n, 197, 198 & n, 207n, 229 n, 231 n, 237 n, 242, 243, 249 n, 262 n, 263 n.
Pêshyôtanû §§ 107, 121.
Pharisees § 61 n.
Philosophumena § 145 n.
Philosophy (religious) § 13, Sassanian—§ 13, speculative—§ 4 n.
Phœnician cosmogony § 152.
Plastic Art § 175.
Pizzi § 6 n.
Polarity § 4 n.
Polemics. v.
Pontiff § 106.
Pope (translator of the Persian *Ardâ-i Virâf Nâma*) § 279.
Post-Avestaic conception § 303.
Post-Sassanian writers § 199. —writings § 202.
Pre-Achæmenian epoch. ii n.
Pre-Median epoch ii n.
Priesthood. v, §§ 256, 261.
Priests §§ 254, 259, 261 —of Ormazd § 3 n.
Principle (evil) §§ 4, 23, 63, 70 n, good —§§ 4, 23, 63, 70 n, primæval—§ 5, —of vitality.
Principles (unity of) § 4, good and evil—§§ 5, 24.

Protestant repentance § 254. —system § 254.
Prototypes § 91.
Proverbs § 54.
Providence § 26, Divine— § 45.
Purgatory of the Christians § 302.
Pûtîk § 163.
Pyro § 175 n.

Quadrumana § 186.

Rabbis § 21.
Ragha. ii n.
Rashn § 103.
Rashnô §§ 104, 107, 277 — of Cînô § 104 n — the Just § 277.
Rashnu §§ 105, 256.
Ratanshah Erachshah Kohiyâr. vi.
Rawlinson (George) § 3 n.
Regulus § 139 n.
Religion (Mazdayasnian) i, § 10, Naturalist—§ 13 n, Zoroastrian—i.
Religions (Oriental) §§ 10, 34 —of Antiquity § 237.
Religious doctrines. i, § 64— ideas § 37 —philosophy § 23—writings i.
Resurrection §§ 89, 84 n, 85 n, 309, 310 n, 314 n—of the body § 310 —of the dead §§ 51, 61 n, 309, 310, final—§§ 39, 82 n.
Retribution (final) § 314.
Rêvand § 166.
Reusias § 175 n.
Rhetorical figure § 50.
Rig Veda § 237.
Rivâyet (Pehlevi) § 187 n. Rivâyets (Persian) vii.
Roman authors § 9 n.—writers ii n.
Romish penance § 254.
Rosenmüller § 61 n.
Roth (Prof., Dr.) §§ 303, 304, 305.—(the learned Sanskritist of Tübingen) § 303.
Röth (Edward, Dr.) § 61 n.
Rûm, v., § 263.

Saena §§ 169 n, 175 n.
Çaoshyãç 314 n.
Çarçaok § 160, 182, 188.
Çin-murg §§ 177 n, 182.
Çpenâk-mînôi §§ 54, 61, 70 n, 71, 72, 73, 93.
Çpêndârmat §§ 96, 97.
Çpênist § 165.
Çpenjargâk § 165.
Çpento-mainyus } §§ 23 n, 64 n,
Spenta-mainyus } 71.
Çrôsh §§ 90, 95 n, 103, 105, 106, 107, 126, 277, 278, 280, 283, 291.
Çruvar § 182.

Sabean doctrine § 47 —tendency § 120.
Sacred books § 261 —Books of the East § 47 — writings § 43.
Saddar. vii.
Saddar-i-Bûn-Dehesh viii, §§ 199 n, 202 n.
Saints § 280.
Sâm § 107 & n.
Sânjânâ (Dârâb Dastur Peshotun). ii n, §§ 235 n, 237 n, 283 n.
Sanskrit §§ 24, 192 n.—translation §§ 31 n, 263.

Sanskritist § 303.
Sapential Books §§ 54, 55, 266—writings § 56.
Sassanian } alphabet § 19.
Sassanide } —authors § 164 —characters § 18 —cosmology § 155 —Dynasty. i, —epoch iv, v, §§ 17, 19, 37, 175 n. — form § 22 —inscriptions §§ 19, 26, 71 — king §§ 198, 283 —kings i, §§ 1, 218, 263 —literature iv, §§ 49, 70 —Mîtrô § 103 —Parseeism § 98 —period v, §§ 9, 48, 86, 181, 135, 272—philosophy §§ 13, 55 — religion § 17 —sculptures § 37 — speculation § 23 — system § 175 —texts § 114 — time §§ 2, 9, 35 n, 59, 175 n —times §§ 5, 9 n, 22, 61, 129, 141 —treatises vi —writings §§ 11, 33 —work § 10 — works § 55 n.—(pl). i, iii, iv, §§ 3 n, 69 n, 17 & n, 18, 23, 55 n, 60, 199, 305 n.
Satan § 61 n, 66 n, 69.
Satavês §§ 133, 135, 139, 155.
Satavêsh (gulf) § 163.
Savah §§ 160, 163.
Savants § 143 n, European —vi n, § 4 n, Parsi—vi n, § 19, Zoroastrian —§ 4 n.
Sâvar § 125.
Schindler (Houtum) § 2 n.
Schools §§ 3, 5, 14, 15, Mazdayasnian—§ 17.
Scorpio § 133.
Schismatic § 84.
Scylax § 186 n.
Season festivals § 219.
Sectarians § 264.
Seleucides. iii.
Semitic §§ 18, 20 n, 21, 24, 38, 74, 143, 162 —influence § 23 —influences § 175 —origin § 143 n, 175, 250 — peoples ii, § 175 n —religion § 23 n.
Shâhnâmeh §§ 6, 13 n.
Shâhpûr II. iii, § 283.
Shahristâni (Muhammad-ash) §§ 3, 9 n, 68, 69.
Shatvaîrîô § 96.
Shâyast lâ-Shâyast. iv, §§ 3, 196, 247.
Sîmûrgh §§ 169, 177 n, 182.
Sînamrû § 169.
Sinik religion § 263.
Sirius § 133.
Sirôzâh § 56.
Socrates § 201.
Soshyôs } §§ 52, 138, 307,
Soshyãs } 308, 310, 312.
Space § 12—(a creature) § 13. —(firmament) § 12, infinite—§§ 12, 13, 14, vague and immense—§ 12.
Speculative ideas § 61 n — theories § 14 —philosophy § 4 n.
Spênâmînô § 275.
Sphere (celestial) § 13 — (a creature of Aûharmazd) § 13.
Spiegel (Friedrich, Prof., Dr.) i, §§ 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20 n, 21-23, n, 24 n, 36, 37, 38, 40, 45 n, 55, 56, 59, 69, 70, 71, 75 n, 81, 83, 84 n, 91, 101, 103, 110, 126 n, 128,

139, 143, 144, 145 n, 147, 152, 165 n, 173, 174, 175 & n, 176, 183 n, 187, 191 n, 199 n, 201, 202 n, 203, 250, 275 n, 279. —(great Eranist) § 3 — (illustrious Eranist) § 174
Spiegel's Alterthumskunde § 175.
Spirit (celestial) § 112. Evil — §§ 5, 23, 28, 35, 43, 52 n, 63, 64, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 80, 82, 85, 90, 91, 101, 145, 156, 164, 183, 184 n, 187, 209, 212, 231, 245. Good—§§ 5, 63, 68, 75 79, 82 n, 231. Holy—§§ 54, 58, impure —§ 245, murderous— § 80, systematising— § 175 — of Aûharmazd § 51 —of Ameshospands § 51 — of Anger § 126 — of Contentment § 215 —of Destiny § 215 — of Devotion § 215 —of Evil Knowledge § 214 — of Liberality § 215 —of the Mazdayasnian Religion § 86 —of Moderation § 215 —of Perseverance § 215 —of the Spirits § 37— of Thankfulness § 215 —of Truth § 215 —of Wisdom §§ 49, 50, 54, 150, 191, 214, 215, 259 —(pl.) §§ 35, 82, 95, 98, 104, 110, 111, 112, 119, 121, 123, 132, 169 202, 233, 313 —of the Blessed § 99, evil —§§ 66, 73, 91, 101, 127, 156, 290, good—§§ 24, 73, 89, 91, 95, 98, 139, 281, funeral—§ 104.
Spiritual Archetype § 120 — armour § 215 —counterparts § 91—court § 95 — enemies § 216.
Stîrs § 256.
Stuart § 61 n.
Syâkmak §§ 187, 188.
Syria § 160 n.
Syriac civilisation. iv.

Tacitus § 24 n.
Tahmurath § 76.
Taîrêv § 125.
Takhmôrup § 160.
Talmud § 61 n.
Taprêv § 125.
Terminology § 24.
Testament (New) §§ 23, 60, 61 & n. Old—§§ 23, 37, 54, 55, 61 n, 174, 266, 286.
Theodore of Mopsuestia (Greek author) §§ 6, 17.
Theology. vi n.
Theological doctrines iv.
Time §§ 7, 12, 13, 33. Boundless—§§ 11, 12, 40. Infinite —§§ 9, 13, 14. Unlimited —§ 5.
Tîr §§ 102, 109, 139.
Tishtar §§ 94, 102, 110, 133, 135, 139, 154, 155, 160, 163, 169 —(Sirius) § 109.
Tobias § 126 n.
Towers of Silence § 245 n.
Traditional version § 50.
Treasure of Princes § 198 n.
Tree of All Seeds § 175 — of the good remedies § 175 —of Life § 174, 175 n —of Knowledge §§ 175 n, 174.
Tübingen § 303.

Turanian Magi § 4.
Turanians § 306.
Turkestan § 263.

Ukhshyat-êrta § 307 n — nêma 307 n.
Ulemâ-i Islam §§ 5, 9, 17, 40, 86, 129, 139, 142, 181.
Urvâzist § 165.

Vâhrâm § 108, 166, 277.
Vâî § 108 —the bad § 277 — the good § 277.
Vanand §§ 133, 135, 139.
Var §§ 182 & n, 185, 310.
Varêno § 126.
Varûn §§ 124, 126 — (the personification of passions) § 249.
Vât § 155.
Vaorukasha § 169 n.
Vâzist § 165.
Vazorg Mihir —— Mithro (Minister of Koshrav Anosheravan) §§ 198, 249.
Vedas § 185.
Vedic hells § 279.
Vega of Lyra § 133 n.
Vêh § 164.
Vendidad Vandidad §§ 4 n, 12 n, 23 n, 35 n, 81 n, 175, 180 n, 186 & n.
Vernal Equinox § 101.
Vîdadafsh § 160.
Viçpa-taurvaîri § 314 n.
Vishtâsp § 286.
Vishtâspa § 3 n.
Vishkaripta § 182 n.
Vizaresh Vizarsh §§ 127, 274, 277, 278 and n.
Vohû Fryân § 165.
Vohûman §§ 43, 50, 54, 59, 60, 61, 93, 94, 95, 96, 110, 124, 126, 155, 206, 286, 314 n, the bird of—§ 180 n—(good conscience) § 23—(good mind) § 23, —the son of Auharmazd §§ 5, 7, 62; 58.
Vohumanô § 23 n, 59 n, 49 n.
Vorûbarst § 160.
Vorûjarst § 160.
Vullers (Translator of Ulêmâ-i Islâm) §§ 5n, 86 n, 129 n, 139 n, 142 n, 181 n, 199 n.

West (E. W., Dr., the illustrious Eranist). i, vi. n, §§ 9, 11, 19, 23 n, 30 n, 31, 36, 38, 45, 49, 64, 65, 66, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76 n, 80, 81, 82, 91, 93, 95, 101, 103, 123, 127 n, 133, 139 n, 140 n, 144, 153, 159 n, 160 n, 162 n, 163 n, 164 n, 165 n, 173, 177 n, 180 n, 185 n, 186 n, 187 n, 203, 227 n, 235 & n, 236 n, 237, 238 n, 239 n, 240 n, 247, 248 n, 254, 256 n, 263 n, 273, 278 n, 292 n, 304, 306.
Westergaard (N. L., Prof.) §§ 3 n, 12 n, 23 n, 24, 50 n, 59 n, 81.
de Wette § 61 n.
White Demon §§ 127, 263.
Windischmann (Fr.) §§ 7, 89 n, 91, 101 n, 126 n, 144, 153, 159, 177 n, 185 & n, 187 & n, 301, 314.
Wisdom §§ 28, 51, 52 & n, 53, 54, 56, 93, 95 n, 206, 217, the Book of—§ 56

n, Divine,—§§ 56 n, 204; 43-56, Innate,—§§ 51, 52, 54, 56, 221.
Word (Ahuna Vairya) § 93.
Worshippers of demons § 264.

Xerxes I. iii.

Yajashn ceremony § 35 n.
Yaçna §§ 24, 56, 59, 263, 303.
Yama §§ 185, 237.
Yami §§ 185, 237.
Yasht § 56.
Yâtûs § 179.
Yazata §§ 5 n, 14 n,—pl. §§ 95, 98.
Yazd (female) § 110.
Yazdân §§ 24, 69, 98.
Yazds §§ 24, 41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 91, 95, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 116, 118, 121, 122, 130 n, 132, 135, 155, 156, 160, 172, 187, 250, 281, 285, 286, 288.—of the material and spiritual worlds § 52.—of heaven and earth § 54.
Yezdegard II. iii, §§ 3, 9, 15. III, iv.
Yîm §§ 182, 258, 310.
Yîma § 182 n, 185.
Yozdâthregar Mobeds § 35 n.

Zîd-Sparam §§ 9, 98 n, 178.
Zâirîk § 125.
Zamân derang qadâê § 8.
Zamyâd § 109.
Zandîk religion § 263.
Zarates the Chaldean § 145 n.
Zarathushtra. ii & n.
Zarîngôsh § 279.
Zartûsht §§ 3, 37, 39, 53, 54, 138, 218, 224, 255, 286, 295.
Zarvana § 14 n.
Zarvana Akarna §§ 5 n, 17 n.
Zend Avesta § 17 n.—texts § 3 n.
Zendiks § 17 n.
Zervânic belief § 9 n.
Zervanism §§ 48, 67.
Zervanist § 40.—doctrine § 68.—school § 69.—system § 17.—systems §§ 5 17.—§§ 9 & n, 17. 69. School of.—§ 9.
Zodiac (circle of) § 132. Signs of the—§§ 12. 13. 133.
Zodiacal constellations §§ 120. 135.—signs §§ 133. 144.
Zôrê pâstân § 161 n.
Zoroastre § 3 n, 61 n,—Zore of—§ 3 n.
Zoroastrian belief § 3 n.—religion. i, ii, § 61 n.—Mazdeism § 4 n,—savants § 4 n.—system § 61 n.
Zoroastrianism §§ 3 n, 61 n.
Zoroastrians § 283 n.
Zôrvân §§ 9, 15.
Zrvan §§ 6, 8, 11, 40, 69.—Akarna §§ 5, 6, 8.—daregho qadhâta § 8.—(father of Ormizt and Arhman) §§ 16, 17.—(fortune) § 6.—(glory) § 6.—(infinite time) § 11.—(intangible being) § 10. Premordial—§ 14. (primary being) § 15.

INDEX II.

(PEHLEVI, AVESTAIC, SANSKRIT, AND PERSIAN, TERMS EXPLAINED).

A. § 83.
Abadah § 35 n.
Abitar § 236.
Abitarîh § 57.
Âbtâbân § 2 n.
Abû §§ 32, 57.
Abûîh § 57.
Abûn § 141.
Adâ § 26 n.
Adâtîh § 239.
Adîk § 76.
Adîn § 57.
Aêshm §§ 106, 139.
Aêshma § 126 n.
Aêshm-dêv § 126 n.
Aêshm-shêdâ § 126 n.
Af § 37.
Afânîk §§ 100, 183.
Afârîk § 151.
Afarjânak § 75.
Afash §§ 57, 83, 87, 93, 99, 100, 144, 147, 242, 262, 281.
Afdûm § 128, 147.
Afrâ § 191.
Âfrîn §§ 40, 170.
Âfrîtarîh § 57.
Âfrîto § 41.
Afshârd § 125.
Afshârto § 125.
Afzâr §§ 32, 83, 126, 155.
Afzârîh § 147.
Afzûnîk § 23 n.
Afzûnîkîh § 196.
Ag §§ 74, 281.
Ag-dîno § 221.
Ag-i-dât §§ 74, 115 n, 133, 281.
Ahâo § 305.
Âharman §§ 83, 92.
Ahôshîh § 173.
Ahramôk § 265
Ahramôkân § 264.
Ahrûbo § 214.
Ahu §§ 197, 198, 201, 224.
Ahûâçtak § 32.
Ahûiaçt § 207.
Ahûîh § 229.
Ahûkân §§ 124, 248.
Ahûki § 236.
Ahunvar § 75.
Ahûo § 32, 128.
Ahurâ § 83.
Ahura-mazda §§ 22, 23, 24, 48, 59.
Ai. § 240 n.
Aîb-dât § 74.
Aîbîbût §§ 74, 242, 243.
Aîbîbûtîh § 243.
Aîbîgad §§ 74, 115 n.
Aigh § 128.
Aigha §§ 236. 243.
Aigshân § 77.
Aimôk § 240 n.
Ainyôk §§ 88, 281.
Aîrâno vi.
Aîrîh § 231.
Aîrmano. § 32.

Aîrya § 222.
Aít. } §§ 59, 82, 185, 236,
Âít. } 283 n.
Âítîh §§ 90, 141.
Aîto §§ 57, 58, 83, 88, 100, 147.
Aîtôân § 88.
Aîtoîh §§ 57, 59.
Aîtuno § 83.
Aîvak §§ 4, 57, 88, 102, 207 n, 258, 281, 283 n.
Aîvâcîk § 34.
Aîva-kosto § 83.
Aîvôcak § 102.
Ajûrîh § 221.
Akâmak § 83.
Akanâra § 40.
Akanârak § 83.
Akanârak-homand § 11.
Akanârâno § 83.
Akanârîh § 83.
Akârih § 83.
Akârîhi § 83.
Akârînîtano § 83.
Âkâçîh § 57.
Akâçtar § 198.
Akdino § 265.
Akh § 283 n.
Akh-ac § 236.
Akhâni § 130.
Akhar § 72.
Âkhar §§ 57, 83, 236.
Âkhar-dânîshnîh § 75.
Akharîh § 57.
Akharîhâ § 57
Akho §§ 197, 198, 199, 201.
Akhri § 72.
Akhtar § 134.
Akhtarân § 133.
Akôman §§ 72, 124.
Am §§ 37, 76.
Amarg § 88.
Amarkâno § 102.
Amaroçpand § 281.
Amarçpandân } §§ 34, 88.
Amarçpandâno }
Amat §§ 147, 155.
Ameshoçpand § 41.
Amihânak §§ 34, 96.
Amihânakîh § 34.
Âmijishavand § 147.
Aminîtar § 91.
Amûîtâr § 91.
Amuyamna § 91.
An § 40.
Anâ § 242.
Anâhít (Venus) § 139.
Anaîr § 263.
Anâîtîh § 83.
Anâîtkârîh § 83.
Anaiyâdîh § 83.
Anaiyârih § 83.
Anâm § 41.
Anantasya § 40.
Anâtonâd § 283 n.
Anâyâftano § 83.
Anbâmi § 236.
And § 57.
Andâ § 301.
Andâjîshno § 100.
Andar § 134
Andarûn §§ 150, 151, 281.
Andarvâî §§ 40, 154, 230.
Ang § 71.
Angôn § 173.
Añgro § 71.
Añgro-mainyus § 71.
Aṇh § 71.
Anhômâ §§ 18, 19, 21, 139.
Aṇhus açtvâo § 207.
Aṇôsh § 285.
Aṇro § 71.
Aṇro-mainyus § 71.
Anshûtâ §§ 24, 41, 99, 207 n.
Aôjô §§ 147, 205.
Aosha § 175 n.
Aôshaṇh § 175 n.
Apâkhtar § 134.

Apâkhtarân § 139.
Apartar §§ 57, 59.
Apartûnîh § 57.
Aparvâkhto § 236 n.
Arâç § 237 n.
Arbâ § 147.
Arevâ § 91.
Arûnak-bavîhûnishnîh § 221.
Açânishnîh § 88.
Açarî §§ 36, 77.
Açarîtârîh § 79.
Açmân §§ 131, 134, 139, 142, 150, 151, 153, 167.
Açmâno §§ 36, 41, 99, 151, 281.
Açn-khard § 50.
Açno-khart §§ 28, 55, 56, 60, 93, 197, 221.
Açno-khratus § 56.
As § 71.
Ash §§ 83, 236.
Ashêshânîh § 221.
Âshîrvâdêna § 40.
Âshmôkîh § 221.
Ashôkâkâçîh § 101.
Ashtîh §§ 220, 239.
At § 237 n.
Âtâsh § 147.
Âtesh § 41.
Aûharmâ § 22.
Aûharmazd §§ 19, 23, 36, 57, 83, 281.
Aûharmazdi §§ 18, 19, 22.
Auramazda §§ 22, 26 n.
Avacîto § 75.
Avad-gar § 148 n.
Avad-garîh §§ 147, 148 n.
Avârîk §§ 34, 147, 281.
Avar-mînîshnîh § 243.
Avartâr §§ 41, 221,
Avar-tûm § 281.
Avâz § 248.
Avbash §§ 83, 144, 147.
Avêgumânîh §§ 44, 224.
Avênak § 75.
Avgâm § 83.
Avîanjam § 35 n.
Avîh §§ 57, 59.
Avîjîd § 238 n.
Avîn § 283 n.
Avînishnîk § 88.
Avînkharto § 83.
Avîr §§ 236, 243.
Avîr-vashtan.
Avîzak § 31.
Avîzakîh § 281.
Âvô § 264.
Avôkhshûtâr § 31.
Avôrâkîh 34.
Avôraçto § 57.
Avôriçto §§ 57, 59.
Avôrishno § 147.
Avôritano § 38.
Avôrito § 57.
Âvôyathrâ § 84 n.
Avyan §§ 162 n, 170.
Âvzarîhâ § 171.
Awâkîh § 221.
Awar § 155.
Axtaw § 2 n.
Ayâzishno §§ 57, 59.
Ayôkhshûçto § 41.
Ayômâîk § 281.
Ayômaîktûm § 281 n.
Ayômâîk-tum § 281.
Ayôtâk §§ 147, 149.
Ayûf § 57.
Az §§ 24, 207 n, 236.
Âzar § 31.
Azarânâtano § 281.
Azarânotanofrôhar § 116.
Azh §§ 73, 74, 82.
Azîr § 283 n.
Âzo § 248.

Babâ § 283 n.
Bag § 26.
Baga § 26 & n.

Bagh § 26, 45 n.
Bagha § 26.
Baghobakht §§ 26, 45, 47.
Bagi § 26.
Bakht §§ 6 n, 45.
Bâkhtar § 129 n.
Bâkhtâri § 32.
Balisto § 28.
Bâmîg § 41.
Banâ § 283 n.
Bandîk § 32 & n.
Bar § 270.
Bâr § 264.
Barâ §§ 57, 83, 187, 255.
Barâbûrtano § 102.
Barf § 155 n.
Barhînítano § 38.
Barîtak-ash § 252.
Barzend § 292 n.
Bathir § 139.
Bavîhúnishnîh § 221.
Bêjashk § 255.
Bênafshman §§ 23, 32, 57, 59, 83, 147.
Bênman §§ 57, 72, 236.
Bênmanîh § 57.
Bêshîtâr § 83.
Bêshîtârtar § 83.
Bêshnîh § 83.
Bhânga § 81.
Bihar §§ 7 n, 38 n, 57, 83.
Biharînîtano §§ 38 n, 57 n.
Biharinîto § 57.
Bîharvar § 32.
Bîruno § 192.
Bîs § 81.
Bîsh §§ 193, 281.
Bôd §§ 171, 203.
Bocishno §§ 100, 128.
Bôî §§ 115, 197, 198, 199, 201, 203, 230.
Bôkhtaktar § 221.
Brêh §§ 7, 217.
Brehînîd § 40.
Brehînishn § 217.
Brin § 7.
Bûmîm § 26 n.
Bûn §§ 28, 75, 141, 147, 204, 211, 270.
Bûñda maneshnî § 215.
Bund dâtîk § 57.
Bûndehishnân-i-çtîh §§ 133, 144.
Bûndehishno § 138.
Bûndîk § 32 n.
Bûnîk § 221.
Bûrhânah § 147 n.
Bûrhânak § 147.
Bûrjishnîktar § 221.
Bûrtano § 83.
Bûrtâr'ŝ 221.
Bûrto § 83.
Bûtîg § 41.

Ca §§ 40, 57, 83, 88, 147, 211, 236.
Cahâr §§ 147, 155.
Cakâd-i-dâitîk § 276.
Cand §§ 57, 236.
Candor § 276.
Carâiti § 274.
Carâityô § 274.
Câshito § 83.
Casm § 147.
Cibâ § 171.
Cigûn §§ 57, 83, 147, 151, 173, 281, 283 n.
Cîhar §§ 57, 216, 249.
Cîharîh § 196.
Cinvar § 276.
Cinvat pûhal § 276.
Cûrshîd § 2 & n.

Dâ §§ 38, 235 n.
Dâdash § 6.
Dâêstânîhâ § 184.
Dahîshnân §§ 34, 130, 147, 214.

Dahîshnâno § 99.
Dahishnîh §§ 57, 276.
Dahishno §§ 100, 147.
Dakhshîh § 239 n.
Dâm §§ 80, 81, 83, 99, 151.
Dâmân § 11.
Damânî § 151.
Dameçtân § 156.
Damîk §§ 99, 134, 158, 173, 290.
Dânâk §§ 196, 214.
Dânâk-dâtâr § 31.
Dânâk-mînôî § 214.
Dânâkih §§ 41, 57, 196, 204.
Dânâkînîto § 57.
Dânish § 260.
Dânishnîh § 221.
Dânishno §§ 32, 57, 59, 147, 252.
Dânishnohomand § 147.
Darmânîto § 147.
Dârûk § 71.
Dârvand §§ 78, 214.
Dâçto § 83.
Dâçûnashna § 283 n.
Daçûpatih § 284.
Daçûpato §§ 214, 231.
Dâshak § 158.
Dâshtano § 243.
Dâstâr §§ 27 n, 205.
Dast-kâri § 156.
Dât § 281.
Dâtân § 231.
Dâtano § 38.
Dâtâr §§ 23, 27 n, 38, 57, 100, 102, 147, 224, 252, 281.
Datha § 235 n.
Datîgar § 147.
Dâtistânîk § 31.
Dâto vi, §§ 100, 222, 236.
Dayan vi n, § 283 n
Dehi § 147 n.
Denman §§ 88, 147.
Denman-ac § 147.
Dêrang § 7.
Dêv § 122.
Dêvayaçno § 216.
Dêvaiyaçnih § 249 n.
Dêvayaçtih § 249 n.
Dêviyaçnân § 264.
Dîdî § 45 n.
Dîl § 168 n.
Dîn. vi n, § 93.
Dînîk § 147.
Dîno vi, §§ 83, 57, 100, 117, 126, 151, 158, 196, 197, 206, 239, 258.
Dîno-daçtobar § 214.
Dinoîk § 147.
Dîrang § 6.
Dîrham § 256.
Dît § 37.
Dô-bâr § 176.—patkâr § 133 n.
Dôkhto §§ 221, 236.
Dôshakih § 221.
Drôjân § 124.
Druj §§ 80, 122 & n.
Drûj-gûmânîkîh § 124.
Drûjo § 100.
Drûpûshtîh § 101.
Drûpusht-tar § 24.
Dû §§ 57, 58, 130.
Dûl § 133 n.
Dûra § 175 n.
Dûraosha § 175 n.
Dûç-âkâçih § 75.
Dûsh-ahu §§ 289, 290.
Dûsh-âkâç § 214.
Dush-cashmih § 193.
Dush-dânâk § 78.
Dush-dino § 78.
Duzdâo § 74 n.
Duzdât § 78.

Erêdhvôbish § 169 n.
Ezh § 40.

Farhang § 205.
Farjâm §§ 83, 242.
Farjânak § 147.
Farjânakih § 196.
Farmâno § 102.
Farjân §§ 127, 134.
Farzand §§ 32, 187, 236.
Farzandiki § 236.
Frâ § 23 n.
Frâêbût §§ 242 & n, 243.
Fraftârih § 249.
Frâ § 237, n.
Frâ-kêrêt § 81 n.
Frâkhu-karto-zrâi § 173.
Frârûnîh § 225.
Fraçftârîh § 249 n.
Fraçp § 283 n.
Fraçpân § 283 n.
Frashêgard § 120.
Frashkarto § 173.
Frashkêrêto §§ 83, 84, 193.
Fratûm §§ 57, 59, 147, 151 211.
Frâ-thwaréç §§ 81 n.
Fravahar §§ 147, 197, 281.
Fravarishno § 99.
Fravartâr § 31.
Fravash § 120.
Fravashi § 201 n.
Frâz §§ 23 n, 243, 248.
Frâz-barhinidan § 81 n.
Fraz-karinidan § 81 n.
Freshta-muttazrab § 5.
Frôto § 8.
Fsush § 343.

Gabrâ §§ 57, 236.
Gadman §§ 72, 231.
Gaêthya çuh § 89 n.
Gan § 71.
Ganâ § 71.
Ganâg-minôi § 71.
Ganâk § 71.
Ganâk-minoi §§ 23, 83.
Gand § 168.
Gandan § 71.
Gandânak § 168.
Ganj § 250.
Ganrâ-minôi § 71.
Ganrâ[illegible]nôi § 71.
Ganrâ[illegible] § 71.
Ganrâk-minôi §§ 76, 80.
Gârez § 83.
Garîh § 147.
Garîçtak § 83.
Garm § 264.
Garmîh § 155.
Garôtmân §§ 41, 213, 281.
Gartôi §§ 41, 151.
Garzak § 179.
Gâç §§ 36, 214, 281.
Gatu § 305 n.
Gâtvahe § 305 n.
Gâyak §§ 147, 148.
Gâyakvad § 147.
Gazdûm § 133 n.
Gêhân § 78.
Gêhâno §§ 214, 305.
Gêthî § 130.
Ghan §§ 59, 71.
Ghanca §§ 23, 57.
Ghanâkîk § 71.
Ghanâmîno § 23.
Ghurzîdan § 83.
Gîrâno § 128.
Girto § 158 & n.
Giyâh §§ 171, 187.
Gôbishno § 255.
Gôcîhar § 139.
Gôhar §§ 83, 190.
Gôkarto § 173.
Gôman § 283 n.
Gôçpand §§ 41, 99, 147, 176.
Gôshângrûtkhart §§ 56, 193, 204.
Gûbishnîk § 257.
Gûbishno § 196.
Gûft § 23 n.
Gûftano § 57.

Gûfto § 83.
Gûharîh § 75.
Gûl § 171.
Gûmîjishnîh § 91.
Gûmîkhtano § 214.
Gussa § 126 n.
Gvît-bish §§ 169, 173.—dâto § 236.—Gvit § 75.—tûkhmak § 236.
Gvîtâkîh § 83.
Gvîtîh § 147.
Gvito § 155.

Haft § 283 n.
Halkûnto § 147.
Ham §§ 83, 236, 304.—dast § 101.—dôkhto § 221.—gôhar § 147.—kartâr § 32.—nîâzakîh § 57.—patvandi § 147.—riçtakân § 147.—tano § 83.—vakhçâkîh § 57—yaçto § 303.—Zâk § 93.
Hâm §§ 83, 305.
Hama § 236.
Hamaçtakân § 304.
Hamâçtâr §§ 147, 214.
Hamâi § 236.
Hamâîh § 57.
Hamâîk § 57.
Hamâk §§ 83, 151.
Hâmârîkân § 133.
Hamat §§ 57, 236.
Hamê § 301.
Hamêmâlan § 248.
Haméçtagân §§ 277, 303, 304.
Hamêçtahân § 304.
Hamêçtâr § 147 n.
Hamhaçtakân § 304.
Hami.açto § 304.
Hamîh §§ 83, 304.
Hamîh-açto § 304.
Hamîk-kâr § 32.
Hami.itârî § 147.
Hamyaçtakân § 304.
Hamyâçtakân § 304.
Hanâ § 83.
Hanbêshnih § 83.
Handâtak § 32.
Handâtâr § 32.
Hanjâmîhâ § 83.
Haptôirang §§ 133, 139.
Haptôkring § 133.
Harvîçp §§ 144, 169.—âkâç §§ 51, 115.—âkâçih § 28.
Harvîçpo §§ 83, 173.
Haçtishnîh § 147.
Hashish § 81.
Hâvistak § 32.
Hazankrôkzem § 138.
Hêm §§ 197, 260.
Hêmmûnishno § 196.
Hêmnûnam § 224.
Hêmyâçaitê § 303.
Hêshm § 139.
Hîc § 236, 237 n.
Hîço § 147.
Hîshm § 126 n.
Hôm § 173.
Hômanand §§ 34, 83, 141, 147.
Hômand, §§ 144, 147.
Hômandîh § 147.
Hôrmazd §§ 18, 19, 21.
Hôsh §§ 94, 197, 198, 199, 202 n, 204, 205, 211, 285.
Hôshtâf § 147.
Hôshtâfak § 147.
Hû-ahûîk § 229.—bish § 169 n.—bôî § 230.—casm § 223.—casmîh § 193.—cîhar § 237 n.—dânâk § 214.—khutâî §§ 214, 231.—kûnishn § 219.
Hûâpâr § 31.
Hûâzâr § 31.
Hûk § 260.
Hûmet § 197.

Hûnâr § 219.
Hûnârân §§ 220, 221.
Hûnarâno § 93.
Hûnarâvad § 93.
Hûravâkhmînishn § 236.
Hûrvar §§ 41, 99.
Hûsh § 312.
Hûshkîh § 155.
Hûshmôrit § 75.
Hûshtâvînîh § 202.
Hûsmôrishno § 100.
Hûstîkân § 31.
Hvâpârih § 229.
Hvar § 41.
Hvarinitâk § 32.
Hvârinitâr § 32.
Hya § 26 n.

Imâm § 26 n.
Izates § 24 n.

Jaknimûnâd § 283 n.
Jam § 84 n.
Jâmak § 171.
Jan § 71.
Jân §§ 198, 199, 201.
Jashnak § 237 n.
Jasto § 236.
Jâvêtândik § 147.
Jêh § 274.
Jêkih § 249.
Jigar § 168 n.
Jinâk § 79.
Jôçgûnd § 283 n.
Joz § 40.
Jûmbâçtano § 83.
Jûmbidan § 83.
Jûrdâk § 171.

Kabêd §§ 41, 80, 99.
Kabêdi § 41.
Kahrkâs § 179.
Kâino § 274.
Kâir § 147.
Kalacang § 133 n.
Kam § 83.
Kâm §§ 196, 207, 224, 252.
Kâmak § 242.
Kâmarakân § 75, 123.
Kâmarîkâno § 123.
Kanâr-hômand § 83.
Kanârak-hômand § 83.
Kand § 81.
Kapîk § 186.
Kâr §§ 57, 141, 147, 214.
Karafih § 239.
Kardâram § 120.
Kârîhâ §§ 83, 147.
Karînît § 80.
Kart § 144.
Kartak § 177.
Karto §§ 83, 173.
Kaçiçt § 304.
Kaçkînak § 179.
Katak-khûtâi § 192.
Kêm § 243.
Kerba §§ 220, 223.
Kerfak §§ 219, 259.
Kerfakgar § 31.
Kerfân §§ 93, 147.
Kerfâno §§ 93, 124.
Kêsh §§ 57, 263.
Keshyârâno §§ 57, 59.
Kevan § 139.
Khadîhî § 236.
Khaditûnaçt § 236.
Khaditûnt § 76.
Khadûinak § 177.
Khâîh § 281.
Khâîk § 151.
Khâkî § 194.
Khânak § 283 n.
Khâpâra § 31.
Khart §§ 28, 51, 56, 94, 115, 126, 198, 199, 204, 220.
Khart-dôshakîh § 221.
Kharto § 196.
Khashm §§ 106, 126 n, 248.
Khashmakân § 127.

Khashmvadîh § 249.
Khâtmanân § 283 n.
Khâvar § 31 n.
Khâvarîk § 31 n.
Khavîtûnaçto § 147.
Khavîtûnam § 243.
Khayâ §§ 83, 243.
Khayêbît § 74.
Khôdâ § 29.
Khôîtîh § 155.
Khôrishno § 243.
Khorçandîh § 222.
Khorshêt § 88.
Khôrto §§ 155, 198.
Khotâ § 31.
Khrafçtar § 156.
Khratus §§ 50, 93.
Khshathrôi § 83.
Khûftan § 83.
Khûmb § 154.
Khûmbo § 83.
Khûnâhîno § 153.
Khûnar § 205.
Khûp § 125.
Khûpgar § 236.
Khûrçandîh § 197.
Khûrtak § 133.
Khûshak § 133 n.
Khûshîto § 83.
Khût-dôshakîh § 221.
Khûtâi §§ 24, 29, 32, 207 n.
Khûtâîh §§, 83, 207, 284.
Khûtîh §§ 57, 59, 88, 136, 155, 220.
Khvâpar § 31.
Khvâpardârîh § 164.
Khvâparîh § 222.
Khvêshîh § 34.
Khvêshnîk § 32.
Khvêtûk-daç § 126.
Khvîtûnît § 243.
Kîkîh § 239.
Kilîçyâ § 263.
Kiliçyâkîh §§ 127, 262.
Kôlâ §§ 57, 141, 147.
Kôkhshashnîk § 147.
Kôçto § 83.
Kôshîshno § 100.
Kûn § 83.
Kûnâr § 187.
Kûnishnân § 231.
Kûnishnîk § 257.
Kûnishno §§ 57, 196, 262.
Kûshîtano § 83.
Kûshish § 83.
Kûshishîto § 83.
Kûshishnîkân § 214.
Kûshîto § 83.
Kûshtano § 83.
Kûshto § 83.
Kûsti § 73.
Kûtâk § 83.

Lâ §§ 32, 37, 39, 57, 82, 83, 211, 236, 237 n, 243.
Lâ-tûbâno § 230.
Lâca §§ 236, 237 n.
Lak § 83.
Lakhvâr §§ 83, 243.
Levatman §§ 57, 100, 128, 305.
Li §§ 23 n, 243.
Lôîtîh § 90.
Lôîtô §§ 147, 213.

Maêgha § 155 n.
Magûpat § 262.
Magûpatân § 262.
Magûpatân Magûpat § 262.
Mâh §§ 41, 139.
Mâhîk § 133 n.
Mâh-i khûdâi § 121.
Mahîçt § 304.
Mâhmânîh § 242.
Mâhpâyak § 176.
Mainyava çtî § 89 n.
Mainyo §§ 88, 130.

Mainyus § 72.
Malkâ § 262 n.
Malkân § 262 n.
Malkân malkâ § 262 n.
Man §§ 72, 83.
Mân § 283 n.
Mânâi § 263.
Mânâk § 83.
Mânâk-i ziveshno § 83.
Mânash § 144.
Mang § 283.
Mânêstak § 32.
Manivâô § 23 n.
Mano §§ 57, 72, 82, 83, 88, 236, 242.
Mano-ash § 236.
Manosh § 88.
Mâr § 82.
Marencînîtâr § 80.
Marencînîtârân § 99.
Marg § 88.
Marghomand § 88.
Marînîtano § 83.
Martûm §§ 100, 147, 173, 231, 305.
Maç § 139 n.
Mashîh § 263.
Mâshya § 187.
Mâshyôi § 187.
Mâtar § 236.
Mâtîca § 147.
Mato §§ 57, 102, 147.
Mavan § 283 n.
Mayâ §§ 41, 99, 147, 155, 162, 170.
Mazdâ § 83.
Mazdaçtân § 93.
Mâzdayaçno. vi.
Mazdayasna § 22 n.
Mâzdayasna § 22 n.
Mazista § 24.
Mê § 23 n.
Mêgha § 155 n.
Mêh § 184.
Mêhim §§ 57, 83, 100, 151, 183, 196, 242, 242, 138.
Mêhim-monishno § 196.
Mêman §§ 37, 147, 262.
Men §§ 34, 39, 57, 75, 83, 88, 99, 100, 102, 128, 147, 151, 155, 158, 173, 214, 236, 237 & n, 281.
Mîazhi § 103.
Migh § 155 n.
Mîhân §§ 139, 290.
Mîhânak §§ 34, 304.
Mihîr § 2 & n.
Mijûk § 168.
Mîlyâ § 83.
Mindavam §§ 57, 83, 147, 242.
Mînishnîh §§ 242, 243.
Mînishnîk §§ 257, 305.
Mînishno § 196.
Mînôî § 101, 214, 233, 242.
Mînôi-açmân § 101.
Mînôi-ash § 23 n.
Mînôyân mînô § 27 n.
Mînôyân mînôi §§ 27 n, 37.
Mînôyâno § 27 n, 34.
Mînôyâno mînoyih § 27 n.
Miçvanâ § 305 n.
Mît § 40.
Mîtôhkt § 80.
Miyân § 77.
Mizhû § 168.
Môk § 240 n.
Mûn § 185.
Mûçtîgar § 242.
Mûtak § 124.
Mûzh § 155 n.
Mûzhî § 168.
Mûznâh § 155.
Mûznat § 155 n.

Na § 6.
Naenkish § 139.
Nafshman §§ 41, 57, 83, 187, 236.

Nahâzik § 133 n.
Nâirinãm § 235 n.
Nakhsh § 87 n.
Nakîzo §§ 57, 100, 151.
Nâmcistik § 147.
Nâmcisto § 147.
Narãm § 235 n.
Nâûnghas § 139.
Nazdîsto § 187.
Neshman § 283 n.
Neshmanîh § 283 n.
Nihâl § 171.
Nihûmbo § 83 n.
Nîmandi § 147.
Nimaçp § 133 n.
Nîrûk § 100.
Nirûkînîto § 100.
Nîsmo §§ 165, 185.
Nîûk § 147.
Nyâishni § 237 n.
Nîyâishno §§ 121, 236.
Nyâzo § 141.

O § 130.
Oftinand § 283 n.
Orvâkhma § 237 n.

Pa §§ 40, 217.
Pâdishah § 7.
Pâhrîco § 230.
Pâîk §§ 57, 281.
Pairi-baçta § 83 n.
Pairik § 127.
Pairika § 127.
Paivastah § 83 n.
Pâḷaṇa § 31 n.
Pânak § 32.
Pânâk §§ 24, 31.
Pânakîh § 99.
Parâe § 236.
Pârak § 159.
Pârak pârak § 159.
P'ark § 6.
Parvaçtak § 83.
Parvaçtano § 83.
Paçajakîh §§ 57, 59.
Paçin § 310.
Pâtak §§ 32, 83, 128.
Pâtârak § 94.
Patash §§ 57, 83, 173, 236, 237 n, 264.
Pâtdâr § 205.
Patêt § 254.
Patêtîh § 255.
Pâtfrâç § 242.
Patishvar § 264.
Patmânkârîh § 147.
Patmâno § 243.
Patmôcano § 88.
Pâtôkhshâhi § 32.
Patûkîh § 100.
Patvastano § 83 n.
Patyârak § 102.
Patyârashnîh § 155.
Pavan §§ 23 n, 41, 57, 83, 92, 100, 138, 141, 147, 159, 173, 176, 216, 242, 264, 276, 281.
Payâdâh § 83 n.
Payatak § 83.
Peri § 127.
Pêsh §§ 57, 58, 83.
Pêsh-kûr § 187.
Pêshca § 57.
Pêshîh § 57.
Pêshik § 32.
Pîrâmûni §§ 151, 281.
Pîrâmûno § 83.
Pîrîmûno § 83 n.
Pîshakâno § 227.
Pitâk } vi. n. §§ 23, 57, 158.
Petâk }
Pîtâkîh §§ 57, 147, 258.
Pratipâḷaṇa § 31 n.
Pûhal §§ 242, 276.
Pûmman § 72.
Pûr §§ 83, 176.
Pûr-marg § 78.

Pûrçitârih § 221.

Qa § 235 n.
Qadâe § 7.
Qad-hast § 7.
Qadhâta § 12.
Qaêtva § 235 n.
Quêtvadatha § 235 n.
Qâpara § 31.
Qarênô § 231 n.
Qarçandî § 223.
Qazid § 238 n.
Qêsh § 40.
Qudâ § 40.

Rabâ § 31.
Rag § 171.
Râi §§ 83, 252, 283 n.
Rajam § 214.
Râmashni § 237 n.
Râmishnîk § 236.
Râmishno § 236.
Ramîtûntano § 83.
Râç § 147.
Râçi § 236.
Râçinishnîk § 32.
Râçinitano §§ 100, 183.
Râçinitâr § 32.
Râçinitârih § 100.
Râçnak § 214
Râçpî § 106.
Râsigrahcakra § 132.
Râtân § 225.
Râtîh §§ 220, 225.
Rato § 32.
Ratû § 214.
Ratvad § 32.
Raved § 7.
Ravêshni § 301.
Regelman § 72.
Revân §§ 198, 199.
Revâno § 57.
Riçtakân § 147.
Riçtakhavand § 147.
Rivâs §§ 185, 188.
Rôbânik § 248.
Rôi § 236.
Rôjin § 137.
Rôkano § 171.
Rôman § 283 n.
Rôshan § 41.
Rôshnân § 281.
Rôshanî § 40.
Rôshanih §§ 36, 37, 83, 93.
Rôshanik § 36.
Rôshano §§ 36, 83, 236, 281.
Rûân § 130.
Rûbân §§ 185, 191, 242.
Rûbâno §§ 100, 147, 255.
Rûbishnih § 147.
Rûbishnîk § 147.
Rûfai § 180 n.
Rûman shêdâ çpih § 127.
Rûwâs § 180 n.

Çâmânihâ § 83.
Çar § 168 n.
Çardâr § 214.
Çardârîh § 284.
Çarishk § 155.
Çarîtar § 83.—dîno § 239.
Çarîtarîh § 281.
Çartak §§ 176, 177.
Çartîh § 155.
Çash § 41.
Çe §§ 88, 281.—bâr § 264.
Çij § 83 n.
Çiparam § 171.
Çitîgar § 147.
Çpâç § 121.
Çparham § 288.
Çpênâk mînôî §§ 23 & n, 57, 59, 93.
Çpendân § 168.
Çpenta armaiti § 56 n.
Çpenta mainyus §§ 23, 56.
Çpêto § 173.
Çpîhr §§ 12, 13, 131.

Çpîhar §§ 131, 153.
Çpîhâr § 131.
Çpojkârîh § 248.
Çpûjîh § 147.
Çtâ § 304.
Çtâishno § 121.
Çtak § 304.
Çtar-pâîk § 284.—pâyâ § 143.—pâyak § 214.
Çtartîh § 92.
Çtavar §§ 83, 155.
Çtî §§ 88, 136, 148.
Çtîh §§ 89, 99, 100, 133, 141, 144, 147, 153, 183, 214, 242.
Çtîhâno §§ 88, 147.
Çtîhîk § 151.
Çtîk §§ 36, 93, 147.
Çtûn § 283 n.
Çûâk §§ 159, 281.
Çûâki §§ 36, 281.
Çûçt § 249 n.
Çûçtîh §§ 248, 249.
Çûî § 243.
Çût § 237 n.
Çûto § 236.

Sâlvar § 171.
Sakra § 83.
Saman § 94.
Samayasya § 40.
Sâzît § 236.
Sêbîh 139.
Sêjînak § 273.
Shakrûnîto § 83.
Shâhan-shâh § 262 n.
Shapânân § 233.
Shapîr §§ 93, 147, 258.
Sharm § 222.
Shâtîh §§ 236, 281 & n.
Shâyaçtano § 57.
Shâyaçto § 57.
Shâyêt § 83.
Shâyîto § 83.
Shêd § 139.
Shêdâ §§ 78, 80, 122.
Shêdâân shêdâ § 78.
Shêdâc § 128.
Shêdâ çpîh §§ 127, 263.
Shêdân § 122.
Shêdâno § 99.
Shêm §§ 147, 281.
Shêr § 133 n.
Shîkaft-tar § 231.
Shnâç § 100.
Shnâçkîh § 196.
Shoçtan § 264.
Shûftano § 83.
Sipîhr §§ 12, 13.
Sirdâr § 125.
Sirînyeh § 236.
Spâhvad § 133.
Spanyâô § 23 n.
Spenâmino § 23.
Star § 41.
Sviyah § 40.

Tâcâ § 83.
Tacishno § 99.
Tairev § 139.
Talitâ § 126.
Takîkîh § 221.
Tan § 139 – i paçîn § 51.
Tanî §§ 57, 75, 45 n, 243.
Tano §§ 83, 100, 242.
Tanôîh § 83.
Tanû §§ 37, 147, 190.—i paçin § 310.—homand § 207.
Tar § 83.—mînishnîh § 243.—çijân § 83.
Târ § 83.
Tarâzha § 217.
Tarâzûk §§ 104, 133 n.
Târîk § 77.
Târîkîh § 79.
Târîktûm § 289.
Tarmed § 139.

Taromat § 139.
Tarsâk § 263.
Tashto § 264.
Tasmât § 40.
Tava § 202 n.
Têger § 155 n.
Têgerk § 155 n.
Têkerg § 155.
Têkh § 170.
Têrak § 171.
Thwahmi § 83.
Thwâsha §§ 12 & n, 13.
Têjâk § 41.
Tikshaṇalôha § 153.
Tînâ § 147
Tîrej § 139.
Tôhik § 77.
Tokhmak, Tûkhmak } §§ 41, 169, 173, 236.
Tokhmako § 147.
Tôrâ § 133 n. [252.
Tûbâno §§ 57, 100, 183, 230,
Tûkhm § 198.
Tûkhmakho § 57.
Tûlîmân § 192 n.
Tûrîmân § 192 n.
Tûrjamân § 192.
Twakhsh § 13.

U §§ 7, 40, 130, 301.
Udumbala § 279.
Udyôtah § 40.
Upa-vâdhaya § 235 n.
Ush § 175 n.

Va §§ 27 n, 31, 34, 41, 57 80, 83, 88, 93, 99, 100, 102, 147, 151, 155, 187, 196, 205, 220, 236, 237 n, 242, 243, 264, 281, 283 n.
Vacîr § 261.
Vad §§ 83 n, 214.
Vâd-dîl § 46.
Vadhrê § 235 n.
Vâdishnô § 99.
Vâdûnand § 57.
Vâê-i çarîtar § 127.
Vafr § 155.
Vahânag § 147.
Vahâr § 171.
Vahdûnand § 264.
Vahdûnishno-homand § 147.
Vahîk § 133 n.
Vahist, Vahisto } §§ 41, 281.
Vâhrâm § 139.
Vâî §§ 151, 154, 281.
Vâkhdûnd § 73.
Vakhsh § 199.
Vakhshishno § 99.
Val §§ 57, 83, 99, 128, 141, 147, 211.
Valâk § 179.
Valea §§ 57, 147.
Valman §§ 147, 231.
Valmanshano § 264.
Van § 169.
Vanâç § 211, 276.
Vanâçanishno § 88.
Vanâçîh § 128.
Vanâçkârîh § 83.
Vânend § 73.
Vânîtanô § 102.
Vanô § 173.
Varak § 133 n.
Vârânô § 155.
Varjih § 222.
Varman § 283 n.
Varmanshân § 283 n.
Varûn § 124.
Vârûn § 32.
Vaçtryôshân § 233.
Vashtamûnd § 187.
Vashûd § 128.
Vashûdan § 81.
Vashûf § 83 & n.
Vasôlishno § 24.

Vasto § 236.
Vât §§ 41, 154.
Vâto §§ 99, 147, 155, 161.
Vavaca § 23 n.
Vayag § 236.
Vazak § 76.
Vazagh § 182.
Vazar § 7.
Vâzîsht § 154.
Vazraka § 26 n.
Vazyamna § 235 n.
Vêh §§ 100, 258,
Vêhîh §§ 239 n, 281.
Vêsh §§ 231, 237 n.
Vêshnô § 83.
Vîmârih § 243.
Vînârishnô § 99.
Vînârtak § 32.
Vînârvand § 32.
Vînishnîk §§ 88, 147, 281.
Vîr §§ 196, 197, 198, 199, 204, 205,
Vîrâçto § 83.
Vîrûk § 57.
Vîçp-âkaçîh § 57.—khûtâîh § 57.—tûbânîh § 57.
Vîçpâ § 83.
Vîçpâno §§ 30 n, 151, 281.
Vîçpânô vîçpô § 30 n.
Vîçpô-akâçîh §§ 27 n, 30.—bish § 169 n.—çûtîh § 30.—khûtîh § 30.—khûtâîyh §§ 27 n, 29—tûbânîh §§ 27 n, 28, 30.—vêhîh §§ 27 n, 29, 30.
Vohûman §§ 57, 72, 93.
Vohûmananhô § 50.
Vohûmanô §§ 29, 56 n.
Vôyathrâ § 83.

Wafr § 155 n.

Yâan § 22.
Yâd § 83 n.
Yadman §§ 72, 147.
Yah § 40.
Yâîtûnand § 83.
Yajata § 24.
Yajishno § 100.
Yâkart § 22.
Yâmtûnît § 128.
Yâç § 304.
Yazata § 24.
Yazatân § 41.
Yazd §§ 20, 24.
Yazdakarti §§ 20, 22.
Yazdân §§ 19, 22, 24, 45 n, 47, 99, 100, 220, 224, 281.
Yazdâno §§ 24, 88, 207 n.
Yazdegard § 20.
Yedrûnyên § 242.
Yehebûnt §§ 80, 147, 151, 176.
Yehebûnto § 100.
Yehevûninâhîk § 34.
Yehevûnishno §§ 99, 147.
Yehevûnît §§ 39, 57, 82, 83, 211, 236, 242.
Yehevûnt §§ 39, 283 n.
Yehevûntak § 147.
Yehevûntano §§ 57, 83, 236.
Yehevûnto §§ 23, 57, 83.
Yehçûnîh § 262.
Yehçûnît §§ 155, 242.
Yekavîmûnand § 147.
Yekavîmûnd § 147
Yekavîmûnît §§ 57, 147, 151.
Yemîtûntano § 214.
Yemlalûnît § 173.
Yetîbûnaçto § 83.
Yîhân § 20.
Yîhûd § 263.
Yîn §§ 57, 75, 100, 173, 231, 236, 290.—gûmîjît § 91.

Zahâk § 164.
Zagasli §§ 34, 281.

Zairic § 139.
Zak §§ 34, 57, 83, 88, 100, 283 n, 147, 155, 236, 242, 243, 283 n.
Zâk § 93.
Zakac § 236.
Zâkâno § 155.
Zakash §§ 57, 59, 83, 147.
Zaki §§ 147, 151, 236, 264.
Zam § 84 n.
Zamân §§ 6, 7, 11, 141.
Zamânah § 6.
Zamâni § 6.
Zamik § 41.
Zâmînîtano § 83.
Zan § 71.
Zandîk §§ 83, 84 n.
Zandîkîh § 238.
Zanino § 193.
Zaranoît § 236.
Zarêh § 215.
Zatak § 171.
Zatano § 71.
Zavar § 41.
Zâyak § 147.
Zâyakâno § 147.
Zihak § 32.
Zindagâni § 83 n.
Zindagâno § 83 n.
Zinikâno § 147.
Zirej § 139.
Zisht § 274.
Zivashn § 283 n.
Ziveshno § 83.
Zôfai §§ 77, 79.
Zôr §§ 126, 147, 149.
Zôtâ § 106.
Zûârân § 127.
Zurûân §§ 7, 40.—i akanâra § 40.
Zvarâno-i khaya § 198.
Zyâkân § 146.
Zyân § 237 n.
Zyâno § 236.

BOMBAY : PRINTED AT THE EDUCATION SOCIETY'S PRESS, BYCULLA.